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FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

7th
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 28 September 1993
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. ROBERT G. MUGABE, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Mr. Robert G. Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President MUGABE: Allow me to begin by congratulating you, Your Excellency Ambassador Samuel Insanally of the Republic of Guyana, upon your election to the presidency of the General Assembly for this forty-eighth session. Your well-known diplomatic skills and your country's long-established positions of principle augur well for the successful conduct of the work of this session.

I also wish to pay tribute to His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria for the able manner in which he steered the work of the Assembly during a particularly challenging forty-seventh session.

May I also take this opportunity to say a special word of congratulations to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on his outstanding stewardship of the United Nations during these critical times, when the world body is increasingly being called upon to respond promptly and effectively to complex situations all over the world.

As the fiftieth anniversary of our Organization approaches, there is great merit in our taking stock of what the United Nations has achieved in the maintenance of peace and security and in fostering international cooperation for development. It is also our duty at this session to explore ways and means of further strengthening this body so that it is better equipped to fulfil its purposes and principles as enshrined in the Charter.

The admission of new States to the community of nations upholds the principle of universality that we so much cherish. In this connection, it is important for us to take note of and applaud the historic agreement that has been signed by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, which heralds a period of peace after more than four decades of bitter and destructive fighting. It is our hope that one day the State of Palestine will earn its deserved place as a Member of this Organization. We would, at the same time, like to pay tribute to those countries and organizations that were instrumental in bringing the negotiations to a fruitful conclusion.

The fact that the membership of this Organization has increased dramatically to 184 surely suggests an urgent need to restructure it so that it serves the world community better in the vastly changed circumstances. The end of the cold-war era has finally placed the United Nations at centre stage of international affairs for the maintenance of peace

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and security and the strengthening of international cooperation in social and economic development.

However, the arrangements made for the maintenance of international peace and security need a thorough review. At a time when great emphasis is being placed on the principle of democracy at the national level, there is no valid reason for not extending the same principle to the sphere of international relations.

The principle of sovereign equality among States is an important provision of the Charter. The General Assembly and its style of work represent the embodiment of this important principle. It is the only organ that enjoys universality of membership; therefore, its relationship with other organs of the Organization should reflect this pre-eminent status. Consequently, in the revitalization and restructuring process, the end product should be a reinvigorated General Assembly capable of asserting itself in its relationship with other organs of the United Nations.

The Security Council is assigned by the Charter the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The recent proliferation of situations of conflict, instability and tension around the globe calls for greater participation and involvement of the general membership in the workings of the Council. There is therefore need to adjust its membership, structure and methods of work to reflect the changes which have occurred in international relations since 1945.

The first obvious change in our Organization is the dramatic increase in its membership. Consequently, the ratio between the General Assembly and the Security Council has progressively declined from 5 to 1 in 1945, through 8 to 1 in 1965, to 12 to 1 in 1993. Clearly, the Security Council has become less representative and needs to be enlarged.

The second change relates to the configuration of power in political, economic and military terms which created the notion of permanent membership and the veto in the Council. Present realities dictate that the privileges enjoyed by the permanent members of the Security Council be modified and that the composition of the Council be altered, but with due regard to the provisions of Article 23, paragraph, 1 of the Charter, which accords due importance to

> "the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization",

subject, of course, to membership that is democratically elected and fully accountable to the total membership of the Organization on whose behalf the Security Council acts. It will take time to negotiate and put the changes in place. However, in the intervening period there is nothing to prevent the Organization from implementing interim measures which may go some distance towards redressing the present discrepancies.

The mere expansion of the membership of the Security Council will not amount to much for Africa, Latin America and Asia unless the question of equitable geographic distribution is adequately addressed. At present, these three regions are grossly underrepresented, in terms of both non-permanent and permanent members. Africa and Latin America do not even wield a single veto, whereas the Group of Western European and Other States, and Eastern Europe, now wield four of the five vetoes in the Council. Moreover, the Group of Western European and Other States, and Eastern Europe, are allocated 7 of the 15 seats, leaving Africa, Asia and Latin America to share the remaining 8, an arrangement that is totally inequitable and therefore unacceptable.

It is clear that the Security Council, through a liberal interpretation of the concept of international peace and security, has encroached on the jurisdiction of other organs in the system. We are concerned by the apparent impression often created by the Council that majority votes in the Council constitute international law, regardless of the provisions of the Charter and other relevant international statutes.

The Security Council acts on behalf of the entire United Nations membership. Therefore, any tendencies or practices that may be interpreted as contradicting the norms and principles of transparency, accountability and democracy should be avoided. To this end, we should evolve a system that would ensure more participation by interested Member States that are not members of the Security Council. This will make it possible for such Members to have a meaningful input during the informal meetings of the Security Council. It is also desirable that the Council keep the general membership well informed regarding the stage and nature of discussions and negotiations undertaken.

If we have addressed ourselves at some length to the issue of the Security Council it is because the responsibilities it shoulders have manifestly increased in number and complexity. It is our view that only through a process of internal institutional reform, which we believe

is long overdue, can the moral authority and effectiveness of the Security Council in discharging its mandate be enhanced and acknowledged. It is our hope that the current negotiations on this matter will be successfully concluded to coincide with the celebrations marking the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations in 1995.

I now turn to the vital role of the Assembly as the central and universal forum for deliberation. Africa fully supports the efforts under way to revitalize and rationalize the work of the General Assembly. We believe that the exercise must be comprehensive, taking into account the expanded membership of the world body as well as the principle of sovereign equality of all States. The reform process must also fully address the need for the other principal organs of the United Nations system to report to the General Assembly, as provided in the Charter.

As I have already noted, the tasks facing the United Nations today have increased with the unprecedented mushrooming of peace-keeping operations all over the world. Bitter armed conflicts continue to ravage lives and destroy property, stretching the much-needed administrative and financial resources of the Organization to the limit. Let us therefore redouble our efforts in support of the increased commitment and responsibilities of our Organization.

The recent successes of the United Nations in bringing peace to Cambodia, El Salvador and Haiti and in facilitating the referendum in Eritrea are testimony to what can be achieved by our Organization acting in a concerted manner. It is in this context that we particularly welcome the Secretary-General's proposals in his report "An Agenda for Peace", relating to cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in resolving conflicts, in peacemaking as well as peace building. We in Africa have taken a positive step in this direction. At the thirtieth summit meeting of the Organization of Africa Unity (OAU), held at Cairo in June this year, we adopted a mechanism whose primary objective is the anticipation and prevention of conflicts. Its mandate will be guided by the principles of the OAU Charter, in particular the sovereign equality of States. Where conflicts have already occurred, the function of this mechanism will be peacemaking and peace building. Even with our meagre resources, we are proud to say that Africa has already established a Special Fund to support OAU activities in conflict prevention and settlement.

In southern Africa we continue to be bedeviled by conflicts in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa. In Mozambique, however, we welcome the recent talks between President Chissano and RENAMO leader Afondo Dhlakama, which have cleared some of the major obstacles to the peace process. We therefore urge the United Nations to continue its efforts to put the peace process back on schedule to enable elections to be held in October 1994.

In Angola we are gravely concerned at the continued escalation of fighting between UNITA and the legitimate MPLA Government. This has caused untold loss of life and property. We believe that the efforts of the United Nations and the OAU should be aimed at achieving a cease-fire between the two warring parties and creating favourable circumstances for the deployment of United Nations peace-keeping operations while negotiations for peace take place. UNITA should accept the results of the September 1992 democratic elections, which were declared free and fair by international observers, including the United Nations.

On South Africa, we applaud and support the current negotiations to bring about democratic change in that country, particularly the recent agreement regarding the future, and indeed ongoing, establishment of the Transitional Executive Council. We are, however, dismayed to note the intensification of violence and the withdrawal of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the white conservatives from the negotiations. These actions threaten the smooth progress towards the goal of democratic elections currently set for April 1994. We therefore urge the two parties to return to the negotiating table, as this is the only way forward. The United Nations should also seriously consider a more active role in the prevention of violence.

The President of the African National Congress (ANC) has appealed to the United Nations for the ending of sanctions against South Africa, and we are glad that there has been response from a number of countries to that appeal. Zimbabwe fully supports the appeal, and we are glad that a stage has now been reached when we can judge the process to be more or less irreversible.

In Somalia we commend the efforts of the United Nations in the difficult mission to restore normalcy to that tortured country. In Liberia and Rwanda, while peace has remained elusive, we are glad that current OAU and United Nations efforts to resolve the crises have begun to bear fruit. It is our hope that recent positive developments

on the long-standing question of Western Sahara will result in a just and equitable settlement. The untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and the United Nations in seeking lasting solutions to these conflicts on our continent and elsewhere, particularly those emanating from the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union, deserve our unqualified support.

As equal members of this family of nations, we believe that peace-keeping, peace-building and peacemaking must not be the preserve of a few economically or politically powerful countries. We stand ready to cooperate with the international community in seeking solutions to the many problems facing the world today, by participating in peace-keeping operations or mediation efforts, or by providing any facilities or expertise at our disposal. However, unless all Member States commit themselves to timely payments of their assessed contributions for these efforts, some countries will find continued participation difficult.

We are fully aware that issues involving violent disputes or armed conflicts are not the only concerns of the international community. Other issues, such as trade and economic growth, as well as international cooperation for development, are matters of primary concern. We note with concern from the *World Economic Survey, 1993* that for the third year in succession the rate of growth of world output in 1993 will be below that of world population. It is also evident from the Survey that the end of the East-West ideological divide has not brought with it a commensurate narrowing of the economic disparities between North and South. Instead, these disparities have become more pronounced than ever before.

The problems confronting the developing countries today are manifold. Terms of trade continue to deteriorate, as high prices of imported manufactured goods and rising protectionism in developed countries become the order of the day. The socio-economic crisis in the developing countries has been further exacerbated by the crippling burden of debt. The flows of official development assistance, upon which they are dependent, has declined in recent years, while direct investment has constituted only a marginal percentage of all inflows to these countries, particularly those in Africa.

In Africa, the least developed and most marginalized of all the world's regions, the majority of countries are undertaking economic reform measures. They have made great sacrifices and encountered untold difficulties in implementing these reforms. In southern and eastern Africa in particular, the capacity to implement and keep these economic reforms on course was further undermined by the devastating drought which swept the region in 1991-1992. Yet these countries have continued to demonstrate their commitment to the reforms aimed at improving the standard of living of their people.

Our sacrifices alone are not enough to ensure the success of our economic reform programmes. In this regard, we must once again reiterate the imperative need for an open and equitable international trading system and the provision of adequate financial resources. We therefore call for an early conclusion of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). We also call again on the developed countries to achieve without further delay the target of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product for official development assistance that was set over 24 years ago by this very Assembly.

Africa's economic and social progress in general, and in the context of the implementation of the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s in particular, will remain severely hampered as long as the continent's debt burden continues to be as acute as it is today. Standing at close to $290 billion at the end of 1992, the continent's debt is equivalent to 100.1 per cent of its gross national product, while it is an alarming 108 per cent for sub-Saharan Africa. With Africa continuing to be a net exporter of financial resources, is it any wonder that many of our human development needs and social services have gone unmet?

We believe that there is a clear and compelling need to find a lasting solution to Africa's indebtedness. While we welcome some of the positive steps taken by some creditor countries towards debt relief, as well as the important initiatives of the Bretton Woods institutions in this regard, we believe that an unacceptable gap still remains between rhetoric and action, and that more decisive measures can be taken to address this crisis.

Africa believes that the commitment it made together with the international community, when the New Agenda was adopted in 1991, must be renewed and translated into concrete action. Fully cognizant of the fact that Africa's development is primarily our responsibility, we have proceeded courageously to implement our side of the commitment, particularly in the promotion of regional and sub-regional economic cooperation and integration and the creation of an enabling environment for foreign and domestic investment. We therefore call upon the

international community to buttress our efforts by addressing in a concerted manner the major constraints which I have highlighted.

Africa does not seek charity. Mindful of the need to promote sustainable and self-sustaining development on the basis of self-reliance and the interdependence of Member States, the countries of Southern Africa signed in August 1992 a regional treaty establishing the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). Foremost among our objectives are the achievement - through regional integration - of development and economic growth, the alleviation of poverty, the enhancement of the standard and quality of life and the support of the socially disadvantaged.

Through the various regional economic organizations such as the Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area (PTA), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Arab Maghreb Union, African countries are trying to further their aim of achieving self-sustaining development. These efforts will eventually culminate in the formation of an African Economic Community, whose foundations have already been laid. Furthermore, it is our objective to evolve common political values, systems and institutions, and to promote and defend peace and security in the region. It is our earnest hope that the international community as well as organs of the United Nations system and the multilateral financial institutions will continue to render their invaluable and generous assistance in order to ensure the success of our regional integration efforts.

Zimbabwe is fully committed to achieving the sustainable utilization of our natural resources and the protection of our environment in order to attain sustainable development. In this context, we note with appreciation the progress made so far in establishing the institutional mechanism for the follow-up of the decisions taken during the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in June last year. In particular, we commend the Commission on Sustainable Development for the constructive and positive manner in which it conducted its work during its first substantive session in June.

We welcome the stress that the Commission has placed on some of the areas critical to the successful implementation of Agenda 21, including the urgent need to support national efforts to achieve sustainable consumption and production patterns and lifestyles and the need for a supportive international economic environment.

Issues such as the alleviation and reduction of poverty, the creation of remunerative and productive employment and social integration are at the core of the endeavours of all countries, but more urgently of developing countries. It is appropriate that these constitute the basis of our deliberations when we convene in Copenhagen, Denmark, in March 1995 for the World Summit for Social Development.

These themes are all equally vital. It is gratifying that the international community has pronounced itself on them on many occasions as indeed have States individually and severally. The theme of social integration, for example, was addressed in a special way when two years ago we held a summit meeting on children here in New York. We adopted principles and guidelines which should govern the treatment and development of children in all our countries. We should, in translating these principles into practice, work to remove the status and stigma of society's marginal people from our children. The children are our future. We have a duty to the future for them by the positive and practical measures we take today for their protection, education and development.

Of great importance to us also are issues of population and the advancement of women. In this context we welcome and support the convening of the World Conference on Population and Development in 1994 in Cairo, Egypt, and of the World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, in 1995.

In this regard let me underscore the conclusion of the World Economic Survey 1993 that the social concerns of developing countries, and the major issues of development in other areas of the world, cannot be resolved in the absence of world economic growth. It is our fervent hope that just as the United Nations has considerably strengthened its role in the political and humanitarian fields, its role in the economic, social and related fields will likewise be strengthened in order adequately to meet the emerging new realities and their impact on the developing countries.

Let me conclude by calling upon all Member States to remember that just as the new international situation dictates the need to strengthen, democratize and streamline the operations of the United Nations and its constituent bodies, so also is it incumbent upon us to make an exceptional contribution in pursuit of the noble goals of justice, peace and development. This we believe can be achieved only if all Members live up to their obligations under the Charter.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Robert G. Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Mrs. Fritsche (Liechtenstein), Vice-President, took the Chair.

ADDRESS BY MR. FRANJO TUDJMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Croatia.

Mr. Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Croatia, His Excellency Mr. Franjo Tudjman, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President TUDJMAN *(spoke in Croatian; English text furnished by the delegation)*: Throughout the half century of its history the United Nations has never rallied a greater number of Member States and has never played a more prominent role in global and regional international relations, than it does today, and it has never borne the brunt of such problems as it bears today. This, the forty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, is being held in an atmosphere of great hope and of even greater commitments facing the Organization which, in this post-cold-war time, following the historical collapse of communism and multinational State communities in Europe, is becoming the cardinal guardian of global peace and security.

The fall of Soviet and other European Communist and totalitarian systems has reinforced hope and provided the prerequisites for the comprehensive democratization of the world while simultaneously raising the question of what kind of multilateralism is required and possible in the contemporary world. Of no lesser importance is the question of the new role of the United Nations at a time when many new States are coming into being and when the strengthening of global peace is becoming the fundamental ideology of mankind. The United Nations must shoulder the responsibility for a more equitable global order to take hold in every corner of the world. But, in order to achieve this goal, one must thoroughly review multilateral mechanisms as well as the activity of international organizations under conditions of the emergence of many new States, the end of bipolarity and the strengthening of the polycentric foundation of the world.

The process of disintegration of the Soviet communist system, which began with the fall of the Berlin Wall, led towards a fundamental shift in relations, not only within Europe, but also on a global scale. It has redirected and drafted new American-Russian and American-European relations. The competitive wars of the great Powers bent on gaining influence and predominance in the Third World have almost died away, but the focus of regional crises has now moved to Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and to the area of the former Soviet Union, because of the profound political, national, social and economic changes sweeping those areas. International factors, primarily West European and North American countries, were taken unawares by the depth and speed of these historical changes. Their initial disorientation turned, subsequently, into a renewal of dormant traditional competition for spheres of influence in changing circumstances. On the international scene, the ultimate result has been disunity and the inefficiency of the most responsible international factors in dealing with volatile regional crises, but such developments have also jeopardized the European integration processes already under way. The fundamental values and goals of European regional organizations now face a serious test and a radical review of their mission. The new system of European collective security is yet to take hold, and the same holds true for the system of general, global security. This is a matter of the greatest importance because the security of small countries has become the key to the stability of each region and of the overall international system.

The world has been slow to accept, and slower to understand, the changes involving the national and State emancipation of old and new European and Asian nations, and it has recognized their international identity with reluctance. The world has found it hard to grasp the at-first untenable contradiction implied in the fact that we have entered a period, in the development of human society and international relations, of the broadest national individualization based on a most comprehensive civilizational integration. Even worse, the world has not been ready to face the difficulties and the temporarily destabilizing consequences of such changes, which will

ultimately lead to the full democratization of international relations.

The view that the collapse of communist systems and of Soviet domination over nations in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had resolved the problem of regional and international stability was wrong. There was a similar lack of understanding of the fact that the process of internal and international democratization cannot stop at the mere democratization of political systems, and that it also inevitably leads to the disintegration of multinational State formations. This was the logical sequence of political democratization and national emancipation.

There can no longer be any doubt today about the fact that the ever-increasing functional integration of the world was the very prerequisite of national independence and internal sociopolitical and international democratization. This has only seemingly been a contradictory process. Specifically, because of their endangered position, small nations and their States are anxious to preserve their own State, cultural and economic identity, and this sustains not only the variety but also the very development of the world. It should be remembered that positive nationalism, that is, the national-democratic movement of oppressed nations in Eastern Europe and of oppressed stateless nations in other parts of the world, deserves the greatest credit for the collapse of the communist systems.

Having achieved their national sovereignty and the independence of their State, small nations, in their own interest, became supporters of "civilizational" integration and democratization. This is the reason why one of the most important goals of the international community today should be the successful resolution of problems affecting complete regional and international integration of States having emerged after the disintegration of communist systems in former multinational States such as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

The new world order which is being created so laboriously, but also of necessity, can no longer be based only on the ascendancy of the anti-fascist coalition or of the nuclear Power club. Half a century after the historic victory over fascism, new economic and political realities have come into being, and the countries against which the anti-fascist alliance was directed cannot bear the liability of the past indefinitely. Germany, Japan, Italy and the countries within their international political spheres during the Second World War are today democratic countries with huge developmental power, which is also obviously beneficial to the world. Similarly, the fundamental political and other eventful changes taking place in Russia are transforming that country, currently in the throes of dramatic upheaval, from a former Stalinist threat to international peace and order into, we hope, a constructive component of global order built on new foundations of equality and partnership of nations and States for the sake of mutual benefit and the stability of peace.

The balance of military blocs, weapons and ideologies established during the cold war was only seemingly a stable system, because it was actually founded on repression or dependency, first of all at the expense of small States or stateless nations. Today, to quote Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Multilateralism is the democracy of international society." (*The New York Times*, 20 August 1993, p. A29, "Don't Make the U.N.'s Hard Job Harder")

Multilateralism, certainly! But of what kind? We must tend towards a multilateralism that will help us - after a gory history of strife, first between dynasties, then between States and, finally, between imperialist or ideological-military blocs - to avoid war between incompatible civilizations. A brutal entanglement of these civilizational contrasts is taking place precisely in the area of the former Yugoslavia, threatening to polarize greater areas along the lines of separation and conflict between civilizational-religious blocs. We should tend, instead, to internal, regional and global relations in which these civilizational spheres will blend productively and reinforce their identity through peaceful competition, instead of wasting their precious potential on mutual confrontation and annihilation.

A new multilateralism capable of coping with the epoch-making changes of our time also calls for a thorough reform of the United Nations. This implies, primarily, the strengthening of international law, but also the development of mechanisms which will help the United Nations and its agencies to function more effectively and to be depoliticized, less costly and more receptive to ideas, influences and supervision.

In particular, the role and responsibility of the Security Council in dealing with questions concerning international peace and stability should be given greater emphasis. Over past years there has been considerable progress in the operation of the Security Council, and the use of the veto has almost become obsolete. Nevertheless, certain Security Council decisions are still excessively influenced by the national interests of its members, the permanent ones in particular. Accordingly, we need a

climate of cooperation in the Security Council that will prevent its being used as an extended instrument of the foreign policy of individual Security Council members.

Croatia supports extension of the permanent membership of the Security Council, which will reflect the economic and political realities of the present-day world and assure a balanced regional representation in the Council. Croatia also endorses the limitation of the right and practice of veto. The major crises of our time, such as the one in the area of the former Yugoslavia, should be used as precious lessons for more effective and concerted action by the Security Council.

We also believe that a high degree of responsibility and authority in decisions concerning the major directions of global economic and social development should also be vested in the Economic and Social Council, so that its decisions, in specific areas of decision-making, would have executive force similar to that of Security Council decisions.

Although it would be difficult to envisage the General Assembly assuming the role of a global parliament to the detriment of the sovereignty of Member States, a clearer delimitation of authority among the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council would nevertheless be required. A more articulated link with United Nations agencies, which ought to improve their efficiency and prevent the political blocking of certain processes, is also necessary. However, the enhanced role of the Security Council, which we are advocating, should not affect the authority of the General Assembly, which is a forum for the manifestation of the views of the vast majority of small countries Members of the United Nations. As a form of present-day democracy, multilateralism should provide the foundation for the stability of the new and, in every respect, democratic world order. However, while striving to turn our global Organization into a most consonant orchestra which will provide for the full expression of the voices of all differences and contrasts, natural-permanent and secondary-provisional ones alike, we must never lose sight of uncontroverted historical experience - namely, that the role and, hence, the responsibility, of the small and the greatest components and lines of force in international life are not and cannot be identical throughout all events, times and circumstances. Because of this we should continue to build global organization on the efficient activity of the Security Council and, within it, on the role and responsibility of its permanent members.

The central point with reference to the efficient role of the Security Council, and of the entire United Nations, is the need to develop a new foundation for peace mediation. Established in cold-war times, the mechanism was adjusted to the need to prevent the outbreak and spread of conflict between the blocs, or between their dependants in the third world, with long-term freezing of conflict as the goal. Today peace mediation requires a much more active and flexible approach, first of all because of the need and possibility of preventive action, but also because of a selective use of force in the implementation of peace agreements and Security Council decisions. The example of my country, the Republic of Croatia, and that of the neighbouring Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina pinpointed most exactly the two fundamental weaknesses of the existing peace-keeping-force model and mandate. First, the classic mandate, the freezing of the conflict by sustaining a cease-fire, does not resolve the conflict but, rather, creates further complications. Second, as has become manifest, certain countries whose forces are engaged in the implementation of the multilateral peace mandate are trying, through the members of their peace-keeping units and negotiation mediators, to pursue their national policies and not the policy of the Security Council.

The reform of the overall peace-operation mechanism requires, first and foremost, a more efficient use of coordinated instruments of diplomatic, economic, political and military pressure and consistency in the implementation of the peace-keeping-force mandate. Such an approach, which also implies the selective use of force, not only could have prevented the escalation of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia but also reduced peace-keeping-forces' casualties to fewer than have actually been the case with the present static mandate, which does not offer adequate protection even to the peace-keeping force itself.

In recent years extensive positive, but also negative, experience has been acquired in the conduct of peace-keeping operations in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Somalia and Cambodia. It has been found that peace-keeping forces should be more qualified and better trained and equipped for special missions in each peace-keeping operation. The United Nations should also have greater authority in the sensitive conduct of peace-keeping operations. This suggests the need for the establishment of already well-trained and prepared national military contingents to be available, with all their facilities, to the global community. Under the current system, in the best of cases several months are required for unit selection and the provision of necessary facilities for the deployment

of peace-keeping forces in specific areas, which results in delayed action and substantially affects the conditions of peace-keeping-mandate implementation. It has also become evident that regional organizations, regional military alliances and systems in particular, can in the majority of cases be the main and most efficient mechanism to implement peace-keeping operations. Peace-keeping operations are being used at an ever-increasing rate to prevent disastrous humanitarian situations or to alleviate their consequences, but they will still have a role to play in political mediation and organization of the basic State institutions, as well as in supervising political and economic reconstruction in the initial period. Such United Nations operations of an increasingly more comprehensive scope call for the cooperation of the entire international community in the implementation of regularly highly complex missions. The international community must act through the Security Council whenever there is obvious aggression against a Member State, as well as in cases where international security is seriously threatened. Selective interventionism mainly has an adverse effect on the reputation and credibility of the United Nations.

Economic sanctions are becoming, at an ever-increasing rate, an instrument of international pressure in the absence of political will to use stronger means to implement Security Council resolutions or to protect basic interests of Member States and promote international law standards. In our view, sanctions can have an effect only if combined with other instruments of international pressure and isolation. However, what is also required is a more efficient system of compensating those countries which subsequently have to bear, with no guilt on their part, the burden of sanctions against specific regimes. A more effective system is also needed to supervise the implementation of sanctions through the enforcement of "sanctions imposed for violations of sanctions". In the opposite case, the sanctions, to be sure, will have a long-term effect, but before the ultimate objective is achieved the highest price will be paid by the innocent population of the affected country, by people who cannot deal by themselves with the internationally censured regime.

The democratization of international relations and a new multilateralism also imply a greater commitment of the international community to the safeguarding and respect of human rights, the punishment of the violators of humanitarian and war law and the protection of the ecological balance of the planet. Although we uphold the view that the defence of cardinal rights and international law standards cannot take precedence over the sovereignty of United Nations Member States, regimes and individuals that violate such rights and standards may not be allowed to hide behind the principle of "non-interference with internal matters of countries". Balance should be sought in reconciling the two approaches, and the ways in which, and conditions under which, international mechanisms can be set in motion ought to be codified in the safeguarding of universal human rights and interests in order to preserve peace and the international order.

Because of its own experience - the orchestrated military revolt of part of the Serbian population organized from Belgrade, resulting in the occupation of one quarter of Croatia's territory - the Republic of Croatia supports cooperation with the international community in the identification and incorporation of the highest standards of protection of the Serbian minority into Croatian legislation. We accept international supervision of their implementation in the interest of inter-ethnic reconciliation, confidence-building and the future stability of the country and the greater area.

Of course, the responsibility which the United Nations should assume at an ever-increasing rate in crisis areas, relief operations, protection of the environment and assurance of balanced development, as well as in other issues of general interest, requires vast financial resources. It is not surprising, therefore, that the regular budget and the financing of peace-keeping operations have assumed such key importance among the matters to be discussed at this, the forty-eighth, session of the General Assembly. Part of these outlays can be reduced by a more economical use of existing resources and by improving the efficiency of the United Nations system itself. We should prevent United Nations actions from becoming an end in themselves, and avenues should also be explored towards greater programming coordination with other organizations and initiatives within the international system. Greater care ought to be exercised in preventing all instances of abuse and corruption within the United Nations system, because they not only increase the cost but also undermine the reputation of the global Organization.

The global community is saddled with many adversities and crises, but the international order is nevertheless becoming more and more settled. We are encouraged by the fact that, after half a century of Israeli-Arab conflict, the way has finally been paved towards more stable peace in the Middle East. This example can also be instructive with regard to the solution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. It demonstrates the practical use and advantage of carefully worded agreements which are possible especially when their resolution actively

involves the leading world power as well. Such cases call on both sides for statesmanship and courage in making concessions for the sake of peace and require realism in the assessment of national interests with regard to objective international circumstances and the particular historical moment. The statesmen involved, and the responsible officers of the global Organization, are expected to be reasonable and principled, determined but also moderate, in a way allowing for no narrow-minded radicalism, but tending rather to seek the most favourable solution for the protection of peace and the international order.

We are also encouraged to see that conditions are being established for the withdrawal of the peace-keeping forces from Cambodia early next year. This gives us hope that a similar process will also be completed in the Republic of Croatia in the immediate future, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the nearest possible future.

We welcome the evident progress attained in the transfer of power to the black majority in the South African Republic. We hope that the sporadic cases of racial and political violence in that country are only aftershocks following the major political shifts towards racial tolerance and democratization of political life in that country. We are convinced that the international community will also find the means to succeed in the already initiated and then halted process of political stabilization in Angola and Mozambique. We also believe that resoluteness of the United Nations is also required in the area of the former Yugoslavia, just as it has been in Somalia, in terms of selective use of force, protection of the peace force and assurance of relief. But in Somalia as well, the international community must also assume broader responsibilities in the restoration of the basic functions of the State and in the establishment of law and order in that country. It is obvious that differences in the approach to the solution of problems which frustrate the efficiency of the peace-keeping forces stem not from operative but from political reasons.

The Republic of Croatia welcomes the efforts of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the European Community and the United Nations to mediate peace in the conflicts between or within the former Soviet republics, and we express our readiness to take part in these peace efforts. Fortified by its own experience, Croatia will be ready, especially after the end of the war in the Republic, to contribute even more to the new mission of peace-keeping operations throughout the world.

As a country of outstanding natural attractions, but also of a very vulnerable environmental system, the Republic of Croatia will consistently implement the commitments of the Action Plan - Agenda 21 - the conclusions of the Conference on the Environment and Development and the Rio declarations.

Croatia believes that support of the programme of sustainable development is the proper way towards the gradual bridging of the growing developmental gap between the North and the South, which is a permanent source of political and social instability and ecological imbalance in specific areas and in the world as a whole.

The crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia is the most difficult crisis in the world today, and it cannot be resolved without a more determined role on the part of the international community. Past mediation efforts have been shown to be insufficient because they were limited by a mandate lacking firmness, but also rendered more difficult by the diverse political interests of individual external forces. It has not been sufficient to try to freeze the conflict, send in humanitarian aid and engage in empty threats, thus allowing the crisis to deteriorate to the point where "everybody would get tired of waging war" and then agree to a political settlement. The initial aggression of the Yugoslav communist army, Serbia and Montenegro, for the conquest of Croat and Muslim territories was not countered by determined steps, and the consequences of such a policy have been disastrous. They have included first and foremost the terrible destruction and "ethnic cleansing" in areas conquered by the Serbs, and then the extension of the conflict to the Muslim and Croat sides as well, the struggle for the remaining territory, the incessant growth of the death toll, and the ever swelling tide of refugees, which has now exceeded the figure of one million agonized men, women and children.

In the Republic of Croatia the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) mandate achieved certain initial results in putting a stop to fighting and providing for the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army. However, the mandate has been misused by the Serbian extremist insurgents and their promoters, the Belgrade expansionists, to freeze territorial gains, continue "ethnic cleansing," and consolidate occupation which has assumed forms of terrorism even at the expense of the local Serbian population. The international community has allowed the Serbian side to completely ignore all Security Council resolutions and other agreements, in spite of the fact that the modalities of resolving the conflict have been clearly and well defined: complete cease-fire and the disarmament

of Serbian paramilitary units; the return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes; the normalization of traffic and supply; the guarantee of extensive ethnic rights to the Serbian minority within the scope of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia; the gradual reinstatement of Croatian authorities and of law and order in the occupied areas; confidence-building measures; scheduling of elections for local self-government authorities; and general amnesty for all persons not found guilty of war crimes.

Owing to the lack of determination on the part of the international community in the implementation of the UNPROFOR mandate, the Republic of Croatia has found itself, through no fault of its own, in a position where pressure is being brought to bear on it, including even threats of sanctions, because it is trying to deal with its vital communications problems, or prevent Croatian towns from being shelled from areas under the protection of the peace-keeping forces. Thus, Croatia is being taken to task for reinstating civilian traffic across the Maslenica Strait, on which a million people in southern Croatia and parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina depend. Croatia is first urged to negotiate and normalize relations with Belgrade, and then accused of doing so. Meanwhile, nothing efficient is being done to disarm Serbian paramilitary units and to prevent Serbian extremism and terrorism in the United Nations protected areas.

One of the basic concepts of our policy has been the guarantee of the most comprehensive rights for all minorities - including of course the Serbian minority as a whole, and particularly in the areas of Croatia in which the Serbs constituted a majority before the war - in the interest of the future permanent stability of the Croatian State and of its role within the international order. However, at the same time the Serbian insurgents must provide for the return of hundreds of thousands of displaced Croats and other non-Serbian citizens to their homes in the areas under the protection of the peace-keeping forces. Belgrade must finally recognize the Republic of Croatia and its borders, as the whole world has already done. Croatia cannot tolerate a situation in which the Serbian minority abuses its rights in order to break up the Croatian State or to create the legal framework for the secession of territories under local self-government and their annexation to the "federation of Serbian lands". This would mean the realization of the Greater Serbia idea, which was precisely the underlying motive of the present war against Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro must remain in force until peace is achieved in Croatia, too, and not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as is also provided for by the respective Security Council resolutions. Croatia resolutely urges the consistent and effective implementation of all Security Council resolutions - no more, but no less either.

Croatia has shown extreme patience within the scope of endeavours for a peaceful settlement of the conflict with the Serbian minority, orchestrated during the time the former socialist Yugoslavia was disintegrating and the democratic State of Croatia was being established. However, Croatia cannot tolerate indefinitely the occupation of its territories, the pressure of the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons from Croatian areas, and a situation in which the State is split. Croatia can no longer be forced to accept the fourth extension of the UNPROFOR mandate if the mission of the peace-keeping forces is not specified in more resolute terms, and if the Serbs are not given an ultimatum to implement the Vance Plan and all relevant Security Council resolutions. The means used to bring about Serbian withdrawal from Igman and Bjelasnica - military strikes - must also be applied in Croatia.

The Republic of Croatia is not pleased with the latest report of the United Nations Secretary-General, which suggests the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia by six months, with no essential changes in respect of the present mandate. If the UNPROFOR mandate is not amended within the next 48 hours to ensure energetic implementation of the relevant resolutions and other documents of the Security Council, the Republic of Croatia will be forced to renounce the United Nations peace-keeping operation on its territory and to request units to abandon Croatia not later than 30 November 1993. Maintenance of the status quo, which is nothing but the occupation of part of Croatian territory, and the inefficiency of UNPROFOR are detrimental to the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia and to the normalization of its economic and overall life. Croatia is prepared to resolve the key problem of its existence by all necessary means and at any cost - by negotiated agreement and settlement if possible, but, if necessary, by resort to legitimate means of restoring law and order, with full observance of laws governing war and humanitarian affairs, in areas currently suffering the anarchy of Serbian terrorist and paramilitary troops.

With its involvement in the area of the former Yugoslavia, UNPROFOR has borne a great burden and has suffered considerable casualties, operating in extremely difficult circumstances. Croatia is grateful to all UNPROFOR members who have performed their duty

bravely and honourably, risking their personal safety and their lives, and helping thousands of suffering people. Croatia does not oppose UNPROFOR, but it can no longer tolerate the consequences of the Force's inefficiency and its persistent circumventing of relevant Security Council resolutions. The implementation of these provisions will affect not only the existence of the Republic of Croatia but also the basic credibility of the United Nations.

By renouncing the UNPROFOR mandate, Croatia does not close its doors to any humanitarian action or to the possibility of a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) operation in the former Yugoslavia. On the contrary, Croatia welcomes the readiness of NATO to assume the role of principal guarantor of peace and stability in this part of Europe, and will actively support its units in the implementation of the peace settlement. We also look forward to seeing NATO involved in the implementation of the Vance plan. At the same time, Croatia's door is being opened wide to all relief and human rights organizations, European Community monitors and UNPROFOR civilian logistic personnel engaged in the provision of relief to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

International factors - I refer to the European Community and the United Nations - have brought the negotiations on resolutions of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the settlement currently proposed. It should be remembered that the Republic of Croatia and the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina were the first to support all serious peace plans put forward by the international community. However, the indecision and inconsistency of the international community have allowed both the Serbian and the Muslim representatives to reject or to flout these plans. Even the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina would have been impossible without the agreement of the Croats, expressed through the 1992 referendum. Without the resistance put up by the Croats, no part of Bosnia and Herzegovina would have been defended, in the beginning, from Serbian aggression. We were the first to recognize the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the first to send an ambassador to Sarajevo. The Republic of Croatia has contributed more to the defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to the care of Bosnian refugees, than have all other countries combined, and that situation continues despite the aggression waged by the Muslim army against Croatian populated areas in central Bosnia and against territory envisaged for the Croatian Republic within the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In view of past developments, there are no longer any completely equitable and clear-cut solutions to the complex Bosnian crisis. If peace is to be achieved, all the parties must accept political and territorial compromise. The Croats in Bosnia have made major concessions for the sake of peace. They have lost the most, especially in Posavina and Central Bosnia, where the majority of the Croatian population used to live. They have agreed to accept 18 per cent of territory although the previous Vance-Owen plan envisaged a share of about 27 per cent. Indeed, for strategic, political and psychological reasons, the Croatian side cannot agree to any further concessions.

It should be remembered that in 1948 the Croats accounted for 23.9 per cent of the Bosnian population. That proportion declined as a result of the pressure of the hegemonistic policies of the Serbs and then of the Muslims. In the search for a solution, the same principles must be applied throughout. One might ask, for instance, why Mostar, along with Sarajevo, is being singled out for European Community supervision. Why not Banja Luka and Zenica or Vare, where the Croatian population is struggling for survival?

What about the fact that, as a result of Serbian and then Muslim aggression, two thirds of Catholic parishes in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been occupied or completely cleansed of the Croats who lived there for centuries? The international community must face facts and problems in their entirety. It must identify ways of halting Serbian aggression, but also means of protecting the Croatian people from the attempts of extremists to set up a Bosnian Islamic state, mostly at the expense of the Croats.

Nevertheless, I am pleased to report, here and now, that hostilities between the Croat and Serbian sides in Bosnia and Herzegovina have stopped and, in particular, that, on my initiative and with the good offices of Turkey, political agreement has been reached between the Croats and the Muslims concerning the cessation of hostilities and the provision of the prerequisites for permanent peace and cooperation.

We believe that the purpose of peace would be served by NATO's energetic assumption of the chief role in implementing the peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina and in solving the problem of the United Nations protected areas in Croatia, with the United Nations assuming responsibility for implementation of the peace settlement.

For geopolitical, historical and economic reasons, as well as for the sake of transport links, the Republic of

Croatia is interested in the closest future cooperation with the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the same token, the Republic of Croatia supports the normalization of relations with all States that emerged following the disintegration of Communist Yugoslavia, on the basis of mutual recognition. This is not only in the interests of the peoples of these States; it is also a prerequisite for the establishment of peace and for the creation of a stable international order in this part of the world.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Croatia for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

ADDRESS BY MR. ALGIRDAS MYKOLAS BRAZAUSKAS, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Lithuania.

Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, President of the Republic of Lithuania, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Lithuania, His Excellency Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

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President BRAZAUSKAS *(spoke in Lithuanian; English text furnished by the delegation)*: Allow me to congratulate Mr. Insanally on his election as President of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly and to wish him much success in heading this august body.

It is a great honour to speak in this historic Hall, in which, as nowhere else, all the victories and concerns of the world, all its problems and opportunities, are concentrated. The voice of Lithuania, which had been muffled for half a century, can now be heard loud and clear throughout the world. Lithuania, with a long tradition of statehood dating back to the thirteenth century, regained its independence through the determination of our people, certain fundamental changes in the world and international support.

Our State is consolidating democracy. It respects human and minority rights, and strives to ensure social progress and an improved standard of living founded on free market principles. By participating in the activities of the United Nations and other international organizations, we hope to contribute to a better world.

We have an opportunity to voice our concerns and to obtain support not only at the United Nations, but also at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and other international organizations. In establishing friendly relations with other countries, Lithuania has felt the supportive and increasing influence of international organizations in the process of democratization and in the creation of a free market economy. We trust that the following international Conferences sponsored by the United Nations - the International Conference on Population and Development, the World Summit for Social Development and the Fourth World Conference on Women - will help us find lasting solutions to these concerns.

Since parliamentary elections held last autumn the Government in Lithuania has changed. Our chosen course in foreign policy, however, in the tradition of democratic States, has not altered. Our foreign policy priorities remain close cooperation with the other Baltic States of Latvia and Estonia, as well as with the countries of northern Europe, and full integration into Europe's political, economic, security and cultural sphere.

Lithuania is seeking in particular friendly and mutually beneficial relations with neighbouring Russia, Poland and Belarus. Lithuania supports President Boris

Yeltsin's efforts to stabilize the political situation in his country and to maintain the course of reform. We are essentially in full agreement with the position of other democratic States regarding recent events in Russia.

Like its other neighbours, Lithuania is seeking its place on the new map of Europe, and we hope for closer cooperation between the countries of the Baltic Sea region. An important aspect of such cooperation, and of Lithuania's relations with Russia, is our relationship with the Kaliningrad region. The gradual demilitarization of that region, the development of a free trade zone there and the increased influence that international organizations, especially the European Community, have on its future are in Lithuania's best interest and, we believe, in the interests of other States in the area.

In the long term, the shores of the Baltic Sea should be free of armaments. Measures should be taken now to increase trust and security. Our chosen path - a gradual coming together of the nations and States of the Baltic region and good relations between neighbours - should lead us to the European Community and contribute to the consolidation of security on the old continent.

The shortest road from Paris, Berlin and Warsaw to Moscow and St. Petersburg leads through Lithuania. For many centuries, however, the vehicles of war of attacking or retreating armies rolled across these crossroads, bringing with them many misfortunes and tragedies. Today, however, we hope that convoys of goods will roll across our territory. We believe, and are working to ensure, that our complex geopolitical situation in a new Europe - a Europe no longer torn apart by antagonistic ideologies - should become a source of new opportunities, benefits and prosperity. We are inspired by the example of countries such as Denmark, Switzerland, Austria and others, which have successfully taken advantage of similar situations and the opportunities offered by a more unified Europe.

Having restored its independence, Lithuania has once again become a participant in the processes of a more unified Europe. Lithuania is receptive to cooperation with the West and the East, and sees future opportunities in such cooperation.

Despite the great distances that separate us, relations with the United States have been, and will continue to be, especially significant for Lithuania. We are grateful to the United States for resolutely adhering to the policy of non-recognition of the illegal incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union. A sizeable emigré community, which found refuge in the new world, links our two countries. We value close United States cooperation with Europe, including that with the structures of the CSCE and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and we sincerely wish every success for efforts to stabilize the situation in a changing world and to encourage the progress of post-Communist countries toward democracy and a free market.

We turn to the United Nations, asking it to safeguard the interests of small States. The future of a more integrated world lies in democracy and in the individuality of free nations. The international community should be prepared to defend, with force if necessary, the sovereignty of small - even the smallest - nations. During his recent visit to Lithuania, Pope John Paul II stressed that

> "the interests of large States should never force small States to become satellites of a foreign Power".

In spite of the conflicts that now plague the world, it is fortunate that some good news also reaches this house in New York. We welcome the peace processes in the Middle East and the positive trends in South Africa, Cambodia, Haiti and El Salvador.

On 31 August, in compliance with General Assembly resolution 47/21 of 1992, the last remaining units of the Russian army were withdrawn from Lithuania. I should like to take this opportunity to thank representatives from all the countries, large and small, that supported our legitimate goal. I should also like to sincerely thank the United Nations and Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who monitored the fulfilment of the obligation to withdraw that army, and who, during the most critical moments, sent his envoy, Ambassador Tommy Koh, to Vilnius, and Mr. Stoyan Ganev, President of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, who visited Lithuania and the other Baltic States in July to discuss the army's withdrawal. We were glad when, having made it just in time for the ceremony marking the departure of the last Russian troops, Ambassador Koh said:

> "My work in Lithuania is done, although some work is waiting for me in the other Baltic States."

When a large State withdraws its army from a small one without issuing any ultimatums or setting conditions, this signals a new era for the world in which, thanks to international efforts in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, even the most sensitive problems can be solved peacefully. Despite several

disagreements that arose at the last minute, calm and balanced diplomacy allowed Lithuania and Russia to reach agreement on this fundamental question.

On more than one occasion I had the pleasure of speaking openly and sincerely with President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation. A fresh page is being turned in the relations between our two countries. Of course, the issue of compensation for damage inflicted during the years of occupation is still on the agenda for negotiations between Lithuania and Russia.

The Russian army still remains in Estonia and Latvia. We believe that with the help of the United Nations this international problem will be resolved successfully and, at the same time, the stability of the region will be bolstered.

Until people become fully aware of the possibilities that democracy and freedom provide these ideas will remain just that - ideas. After an initial wave of euphoria, disillusion may follow. One can already notice this in some post-communist countries. This causes me, as President of Lithuania, great concern. I do not think that the world community can afford to remain indifferent to this problem.

A democratic and civic State, based on the rule of law, in which people are not segregated according to their nationality or religious and political beliefs, is being established in Lithuania. There is no tension in our country between Lithuanians and ethnic minorities. We are reforming and stabilizing the Lithuanian economy; we are searching for ways to provide at least minimal social welfare guarantees; as much as possible we are trying to clear the way for private initiative. We cannot, however, change our economy overnight. The Lithuanian people are patient and industrious, working hard for their well-being and future. However, disillusion with democracy and the free market would be disastrous.

Therefore I wish to speak very frankly to this body: even though we feel the concern and support of the world community, that is not enough. It appears that even the most authoritative international organizations lack the coordinated action and initiative for truly effective assistance. We occasionally feel isolationist tendencies on the part of the most industrialized nations; having attained a high standard of living, they attempt to dissociate themselves from the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. This greatly complicates the future of these countries as they attempt to solve by themselves the difficult economic, political, psychological, cultural and historical problems that they have inherited from the recent past. In most post-communist countries there still prevails a nostalgia for the past, when authoritarian government guaranteed people their minimum needs, albeit at the expense of their freedom. Without timely and joint efforts, this nostalgia for a pseudo-socialistic past could cause the development of certain countries to follow a course that would be unacceptable to all of us.

For several years now, both in Europe and North America, the idea of a new "Marshall Plan" has been in the air, but it has in no way materialized. Yet investments in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe - and I have in mind not only financial investments - would really be investments in all of our futures. Greater and more effective assistance for the democratic forces in post-communist States would help decisively to rid the world of the remnants of totalitarianism and dictatorship that have so tormented mankind in the twentieth century.

With the dissolution of two hostile blocs, the world has become a safer place. However, that does not solve all the security problems that mankind now faces. Indeed, the number of such problems has increased. There is now a greater possibility of localized conflicts: they have flared up in precisely those places where dictatorships that suppressed nations have fallen. Such horrendous practices as "ethnic cleansing" must be severely condemned. The model of an absolutely closed nation-State is no longer a viable one for the solution of separate national problems.

The Lithuanian people respect the struggle of nations for their freedom, but they condemn atrocities which occur under the guise of a noble cause. The tragedy of what was formerly Yugoslavia is truly horrible. We approve of the means that the United Nations uses to uphold peace and security, but too often resolution of the structure of a State and border issues are left to warring countries to decide by force of arms. In the future the United Nations should pursue even more actively preventive diplomacy to stop conflicts before they erupt. Every illegal and violent act requires a response, not appeasement.

The Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace" is a welcome plan that provides a solid foundation. What should the new role of the United Nations be in an ever-changing world? As I see it, in future the Organization must not only be a guarantor of security, but also an instigator of economic development and a global defender of human and ethnic minority rights. At the Vienna Conference on Human Rights, we spoke out in favour of establishing the post of high commissioner for

human rights. At this time, ideas about the sovereignty of States, the self-determination of nations, national security and the maintenance and enforcement of peace are changing rapidly. The individual problems of individual States are becoming global in scope, especially in the areas of environmental protection, refugees, narcotics and organized crime. For precisely that reason, cooperation among neighbouring States is growing in importance.

Regional interaction is broadening and the role of international organizations is being extended. We approve of regional structures and arrangements that help to guarantee peace and stability in their respective regions. However, their activities should be linked with United Nations supervision, so that large and powerful nations do not transform such regional structures into instruments of domination. I am referring to failed States. They need international assistance that would not force upon them the protectorate of another State or provide conditions for assimilating them into some sort of sphere of influence, but would respect and protect their sovereignty and independence. Small countries have a right to rely on a firm guarantee of security. The United Nations could and should become that guarantee. In the long-term future, as democracy and cooperation become firmly established throughout our planet, the United Nations would perhaps assume certain functions of a world government.

I reiterate my support for Lithuania's proposal, which was outlined here at the United Nations exactly one year ago, that new permanent members could be added to the Security Council. For the United Nations to achieve its objective, it is important to continue and even expand the system reforms that are now being put into effect to increase cost-efficiency. We welcome the initiatives by several countries, among them the United States, to establish more dependable internal and external inspection machinery. The suggested creation of an office of inspector-general could help to assure Member States that the mandates that we have provided for various programmes are put to the most effective use possible.

I should like to state clearly that the current financial crisis of the United Nations is of great concern to Lithuania. We are not indifferent to it. Lithuania is firmly resolved to fulfil its obligations to the Organization and it has demonstrated its readiness to do so. Lithuania could support the activities of the Organization even more strongly if for three years now we had not been forced repeatedly to discuss the difficult problem of assessments with regard to the United Nations budget. Our delegation, along with other countries that have found themselves in a similar situation, has on more than one occasion suggested ways in which this problem could be solved. I wish to emphasize that the position of Lithuania remains unchanged. The scale of assessments must be determined on the basis of statistical data provided by each State, in accordance with its capacity to pay and, most important, abiding by the principle that the same methodology for calculating assessments must be applied to all States equally. In seeking to ensure these principles and finally to resolve this problem, we are prepared to exchange ideas with, and we hope for the cooperation of, all delegations.

I reiterate my support for Lithuania's proposal, made here at the United Nations exactly a year ago, that new permanent members could be added to the Security Council. Lithuania not only supports peace-keeping efforts, but would like eventually to become a contributor to military and civilian operations.

When Lithuania became a member of the Council of Europe I suggested a meeting of all the Heads of State of post-communist countries. This would not be an attempt to create some sort of new bloc or to console each other about our economic hardships. Such a conference, under the auspices of the Council of Europe or perhaps some other organization, could provide an opportunity to discuss in a down-to-earth way how to recover more quickly from the maladies of national egoism and ethnocentricity that may be unavoidable in young States and fragile democracies. All of us in post-communist countries should, as quickly as possible, learn how to cooperate among ourselves and with the rest of the world and strive to be better full-fledged members of our planet's democratic community. Other countries have learned the art of cooperation over decades. We have not had that much time. It is very important that we succeed through a joint effort in making this period as brief as possible.

We welcome the initiative by some Members of the United Nations to establish a forum for new and restored democracies. It is our sincere hope that this movement, begun in the Philippines, will help bring developing countries and countries in transition closer together, so that they may reach common approaches down the path to democracy and a free market.

The spirit of the approaching twenty-first century already fills this Hall. At the turn of the third millennium mankind is faced with critical global problems that threaten its very existence: ecological, social and spiritual problems and the nuclear threat, which has not yet been abolished. National and regional problems seem to pale in

comparison, but I do not think that that is really the case. Every step towards progress, even if taken in a small country or with regard to improved relations between two States, diminishes the possibility of global conflict, and vice versa. I should therefore like to believe that the withdrawal of the Russian military from Lithuania was an achievement for more than just two countries. The entire world became somewhat better, somewhat more just, and the threat that hung over it was abated.

I think that there will be more and more such successes. The United Nations system contributes, and will continue to contribute, significantly to their attainment.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Lithuania for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, President of the Republic of Lithuania, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Mr. Rahman (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9 *(continued)*

GENERAL DEBATE

Mrs. UGGLAS (Sweden): Let me express the Swedish Government's satisfaction at the election of Ambassador Insanally of Guyana as President of this session of the General Assembly. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and to his endeavours to promote the principles of the Charter and a stronger United Nations. Furthermore, I welcome the six new Members of the Organization.

The totalitarian ideologies of this century have been defeated, but the struggle of ideas is not over. Totalitarian ideas and ideologies can take on different shapes at different times. In many places - and no country is immune - we still witness expressions of racism, xenophobia and intolerance. If these tendencies are not effectively countered today, the world might have to face far uglier threats tomorrow.

As we welcome the progress towards peace and freedom in Eastern Europe, in the Middle East and in South Africa, we have to realize that these achievements will prove elusive if they do not give people a better life. Peace and democracy, freedom and reconciliation, must be cemented by economic and social progress.

The individual's endeavours to improve his own lot and that of his family reflect a basic human desire, which transcends all cultural differences. If that desire is hampered, if hope turns into disillusion, a fertile ground is created for the merchants of hatred and preachers of violence.

The regions of the world where security and prosperity have been relatively well secured now have opportunities to help extend the zone of peace to areas that are struggling to escape the vicious circle of poverty and violence. The main instruments for such developments are freer global trade and a more open exchange of ideas.

In Europe, the evolving European union, of which Sweden soon hopes to become a member, has a special responsibility for ensuring that the Iron Curtain is not reinstalled in the form of persistent economic and social divisions. The United States and Asia-Pacific countries are meeting challenges of a similar nature in their regions. In the Middle East and Africa, we all share a joint responsibility.

In spite of all the challenges facing the world today - regional conflicts, widespread poverty, environmental damage and arms proliferation - I believe we have a reasonable chance of extending the zone of peace and prosperity as we stand at the threshold of the twenty-first century. In this effort we must be able to rely on a strong and efficient world Organization.

Today the United Nations is reaching middle age. In two years it will be celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. The end of the cold war brings new opportunities to utilize the full potential of the United Nations Charter and the United Nations system. At the same time, a thorough diagnosis and some strong prescriptions are necessary if the Organization is to serve as a vigorous instrument of the world community.

Former Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold once said:

> "The United Nations is, and should be, a living, evolving, experimental institution. If it should ever cease to be so, it should be revolutionized or swept aside for a new approach."

Those words are as challenging and valid today as they were in the late 1950s.

Today, I do not intend to dwell on those areas in which the Organization works well, or to commend praiseworthy initiatives. Instead, I would like to concentrate on areas where reforms and a special focus are indispensable. The most important of these are the promotion of peace and security, the role of the Organization in the economic and social fields, and the promotion of human rights.

In responding to several crises in the aftermath of the cold war, the Security Council has, *de facto*, considerably broadened the concept of international peace and security. The United Nations finds itself engaged on a regular basis in wide-ranging and diversified operations in a variety of complex conflict situations. Some of these are of an internal nature and many of them involve humanitarian efforts. The very concept of United Nations peace-keeping has undergone dramatic change.

Unprecedented demands are being placed on the Organization in the quest for global security and peace. There has been an eight-fold increase in the number of people serving in peace-keeping operations during the past two years; the peace-keeping budget will more than double in the course of a single year.

The implementation of a peace agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina will require additional and substantial contributions from United Nations Member States. Again the willingness and ability to provide personnel and resources will be tested. I am pleased to announce that at this very moment a Nordic battalion group is being deployed in Bosnia.

As much as we welcome a peace settlement for Bosnia and Herzegovina we must recognize that it is far from an ideal solution to that long and bitter conflict. It might constitute no more than the beginning of a complicated and frustrating process towards peace where all efforts must be used to counter the inherent dangers of continued aggression, "ethnic cleansing" and the dismemberment of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As soon as a settlement has been signed by the parties, we should concentrate on building a peace which can provide safe and decent conditions for the suffering population. First of all, we need a strong and efficient peace-keeping operation in order to assist in implementing the provisions of the agreement.

International organizations, particularly the United Nations, must embark on a comprehensive reconstruction and rehabilitation programme. Special attention should be paid to the situation of refugees and displaced persons, and to their return, and to the plight of women and children.

Experience gained from the conflict in former Yugoslavia and from the successful United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) shows the need for an integrated approach to international peace and security. This must be one of the guiding principles for reforming and restructuring the Organization to enable it to deal more effectively with today's conflicts. The Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" indicates ways to improve the medium-term and long-term handling of peace-keeping. An interaction between preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building is indispensable.

The need for reform in the peace-keeping area is undisputed. Ongoing efforts in this regard are commendable and should be further promoted. The Nordic countries intend to present proposals on this issue during the current General Assembly session. At this early stage I would like to stress the following points.

First, we should be able to react flexibly to dynamic situations in peace-keeping operations, and that requires better provisions for planning and operations staff. Command and control need to be clearly defined. The operative command of operations in the field would, of course, remain in the hands of the respective force commanders.

Secondly, close consultations between the troop contributors, the Security Council and the Secretary-General are of special importance in complex peace-keeping operations. A forum for coordination and exchange of information to improve contacts between the Council and the troop contributors would be desirable. I propose that such a forum be set up for each major operation.

Thirdly, we urge Member States to respond positively to the Secretary-General's request, and provide troops, other personnel and equipment on a stand-by basis for use at short notice for peace-keeping purposes. The members of the Security Council hold a special responsibility to ensure that adequate resources are provided when it decides on new operations.

Fourthly, peace-keeping operations and humanitarian relief efforts are increasingly interrelated, and this requires improved coordination. In many cases the humanitarian efforts are vital for the successful pursuance of peace-keeping operations.

Fifthly, the great number of peace-keeping operations and their diversity require special emphasis on training. To address the need for appropriate training of United Nations peace-keepers, United Nations training colleges should be established. The United Nations has an important role to play in coordinating and promoting peace-keeping training for all categories of personnel. Member States with long-standing traditions in this field bear a special responsibility. Sweden, for its part, is prepared to contribute to improving the skills of peace-keepers. This could include training for civilian and humanitarian-relief personnel, and also for police and military staff.

Finally, and most important, present and increasing demands on United Nations peace-keeping cannot be met if Member States do not pay their dues. We must create the necessary resources for the rapid implementation of Security Council decisions. If not, we run the risk of undermining the credibility and the prestige of the United Nations and the Security Council.

New threats to regional security are emerging. Cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements is vital to meet these threats of global importance. Regional action is indispensable to strengthen the global community of values and to secure the efficient use of scarce resources. In this spirit, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is applying for Observer status in the General Assembly.

As Chairman of the CSCE Council, I signed in May a framework document with the Secretary-General. This framework aims at improving coordination and cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE in conflict resolution in the CSCE area. The implementation of that framework is essential for realizing the goals of Chapter VIII of the Charter. Regular consultations, mutual exchange of information and coordination of activities between the United Nations and the CSCE have started. CSCE missions are supervising the implementation of United Nations sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Concrete action in the field is also taking place in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and in unfortunate Georgia.

As Chairman of the CSCE I deplore the recent developments in Georgia. The very survival of Georgia as a member of the international community is now at stake. The CSCE lends its full support to President Shevardnadze's efforts to prevent the dismemberment of his country. All participating States must now exert their influence to that end. The disintegration of Georgia is in no one's interest.

The Security Council bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and must be the driving force behind reforms in this area, reflecting the aspirations of the States Members of the Organization. In this context, we welcome the statement by the Council that progress in disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation can make a crucial contribution to the maintenance of peace and security. An early agreement on a comprehensive test ban would enhance that concept.

The considerable increase in the number of Members of the United Nations makes an enlargement of the Security Council a matter for urgent consideration. The effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of the Council must be the overriding goals. A reform must ensure that the Council continues to be relevant in a changing world and that it retains its capacity to act decisively and promptly.

The United Nations has a unique mandate to promote economic, social and environmental progress and development. Increased attention should be given to these areas to overcome long-term threats to international peace and security. Today, the challenge for the United Nations is to fulfil its important role in supporting international cooperation and governments' efforts to master the increasingly complex problems of development. Sweden is looking forward to contributing to the deliberations on the report of the Secretary-General on an agenda for development.

Along with other countries, we have witnessed with increasing concern what seems to be a fragmentation and marginalization of the United Nations in development assistance, not least in long-term development. It is obvious that extensive reform is needed if the United Nations is to be able to respond to the new challenges.

A more efficient governance structure and a broader, more stable and predictable funding of operational activities are in the interest both of recipient and of donor countries. We must sharpen our instruments, both in terms of policy formulation and development action, to avoid

having interest, commitment and funding from Sweden and other Member States diverted to other organizations, to the detriment of those most in need of what the United Nations could offer.

As a long-standing, major donor, with a firm belief in the importance of the United Nations in the economic and social fields, Sweden will continue to work for much-needed reforms. Against this background, we hope that the recent decision to continue negotiations on the role, size and functioning of the executive boards of the development programmes will lead to a result that ensures an effective conduct of work in the development field. The executive boards must be efficient instruments, capable of firmly guiding the work of their respective organizations.

The promotion of human rights is a United Nations priority objective, as set out in the Charter. Thus, the protection and promotion of human rights should underpin the whole spectrum of United Nations activities.

Flagrant abuse of human rights and humanitarian law is still a tragic reality for millions of people in many parts of the world. At the World Conference on Human Rights, all States reaffirmed their solemn commitment to promote respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the universal nature of which is beyond question. Such commitments are, however, of no avail if they are not put into action. All States have a duty to adhere to the international conventions in this field.

We must also make sure that the United Nations human rights programme is allocated the means and support necessary to fulfil its role. We should, as a matter of urgency, take steps to increase the resources and improve the function of the United Nations Centre for Human Rights.

The establishment of a high commissioner for human rights would enhance the capacity of the international system to deal more directly with emergencies and grave violations. It would help to improve coordination and integration of human rights within the United Nations system as a whole. The commissioner would personify the priority given to the protection of human rights, and this issue should be a matter for prompt consideration by this General Assembly.

Sweden welcomes the fact that the General Assembly recently proceeded to select the judges for the Tribunal established for prosecuting war crimes committed in former Yugoslavia. This means that the Tribunal can shortly commence its important work.

Let me revert to the United Nations financial crisis. It is deeply disturbing that 90 per cent of the assessed contributions are paid late or not at all. There is no justification for the failure of permanent members of the Security Council to live up to their obligations in this respect.

The time has come to address the issue of incentives and penalties to enhance the principle of meeting financial obligations on time and in full. The recommendations of the Independent Advisory Group on United Nations Financing in this respect must receive immediate attention. In this connection, let us not forget the letter and the spirit of Article 19 of the Charter, with its implications for the right to vote.

An adjustment of the scale of assessments must ensure a fairer and more up-to-date application of the principle of capacity to pay.

At a time of resource constraints, it is also imperative for Member States to face the questions of priorities and efficient management. Strict budgetary discipline is required, and scarce resources should not be wasted on activities lacking well-defined goals: the means entrusted to the Organization must be used in the most cost-effective and prudent manner. We welcome the recent measures taken by the Secretary-General in this regard.

We now have a unique opportunity to strengthen international cooperation. This window of opportunity is greater than at any time since 1945. The judgement of history will be harsh if we fail to grasp this moment. Therefore, it is up to us, as politicians and statesmen of the present generation, to make sure that international cooperation takes a decisive step forward.

The United Nations has a central role in this process. If the United Nations concentrates on the essential tasks entrusted to it in the Charter, and manages to generate the necessary support and cooperation, this can be achieved. There is broad consensus among the Member States about the need to strengthen the United Nations. If this consensus can be transformed into rapid action, we will have made considerable progress in making the world Organization fulfil the high expectations attached to it today.

Mr. MELESCANU (Romania) *(interpretation from French)*: There can be no doubt that today "transition" is the key word that defines the process that my country, along with others, is undergoing. The inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of an item on countries in transition exemplifies the Assembly's capacity to respond swiftly to the concerns of its members.

Last year, my predecessor stressed to the General Assembly the importance of Romanian society's capacity to learn. Since then, my country has continued to learn that democracy, the rule of law, political pluralism, a market economy, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are necessary conditions for individual potential and aspirations to be fulfilled.

We have also learned that the transition will last longer than expected, that the challenges it presents are greater than we imagined and that its social costs are heavier than we first estimated. However, these bitter lessons do not in any way dissuade us from our irreversible choice: democracy and a market economy.

As the Assembly may know, during 1992 free and fair local, general and presidential elections took place in Romania. The first stage of restructuring the political life and strengthening the rule of law has thus been completed. Clearly, the political process is still undergoing changes. Eleven parties are now represented in Parliament. Moreover, a special provision of our electoral law guarantees a seat in the legislature for each national minority, even if their political organizations did not obtain the required minimum of votes. At the same time, there is a slow but steady trend towards a clearer shaping of political diversity into stronger and better defined political forces.

As for economic restructuring, in March 1993 the Government formed after the general elections presented its strategy for economic and social reform to the Romanian Parliament. The central idea of this strategy is that the transition to a market economy should be as fast as possible. While focusing on privatization and structural changes, at both the macro-economic and micro-economic levels, the Government also pays particular attention to their social costs.

This year we have taken some decisive steps. On 1 May the Government ended all subsidies for the production of consumer goods and as of 1 July the value added tax became the sole fiscal instrument.

We already note a growing interest on the part of some major Western companies in investing in and cooperating with viable Romanian companies. This augurs well for the stimulation of economic activity.

However, our economy still faces some major difficulties, inherent in the transition period. At the same time, unfavourable external circumstances have during the last three years triggered a dramatic fall in the output of important economic sectors. They include the reduction in economic cooperation with neighbouring countries and the adverse effects of the successive United Nations embargoes imposed on Iraq, Libya and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, all strictly observed by Romania.

Our experience over recent years has shown that internal efforts can be decisively catalyzed by foreign assistance, both financial and managerial. Therefore, we believe that international assistance in the next few years could speed up our reform process and boost industrial production, while improving the Romanian economy's integration into the world economy.

To sum up, we can state at this juncture that the essential lesson we have drawn from this period of transition is that - in spite of undeniable difficulties - there is no turning back. We shall respect and follow the irreversible choice of the Romanian people to join the family of democratic nations.

In our view, democracy and the new role of the United Nations are not only complementary, but mutually strengthening. In this respect, I should like to quote President Woodrow Wilson in his Address to the United States Congress on 2 April 1917, as follows:

(spoke in English)

> "A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenant. It must be a league of honour, a partnership of opinions".

(spoke in French)

These ideas are still valid, and constitute precisely the objective we must strive for, devoting all our efforts to strengthening and giving new substance to the role of the United Nations. While remaining loyal to its basic

principles and goals, the Organization must naturally adapt to the new political climate. Deeply and sincerely committed to the spirit of the United Nations Charter, Romania intends to support fully the ideas and recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace". In so doing, my country regards the United Nations, as described in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the United Nations,

> "as the instrument of the body of Member States, and ... as more than the sum of its parts." (*A/48/1, para. 512*)

Mindful that implementing the lofty ideals of the United Nations requires adequate resources, we are ready to support fully every effort to make better use of resources, with the contributing nations having stricter control. Firm measures are needed. Accountability must become the watchword both for the Organization's daily work and for its future projects.

Enlargement and diversification of programmes for economic and social development and for protection of the environment are imperative. It is, however, important to make sure that money allocated to these programmes is not wasted on piles of paper and unnecessary travels around the world.

Peace-keeping operations, which have undergone such an impressive expansion in recent years, have similar requirements. Increased attention should be given to the ratio of costs to benefits and control of the use of resources.

The new political climate, which has brought an enhanced role for the Security Council, has made possible a more effective use of the United Nations potential for controlling and resolving conflicts.

Romania is determined to contribute to the best of its ability to United Nations peace-keeping operations, and to this end has already started a special programme to increase its capacity to respond adequately to the requirements of the Organization or of other institutions. A first battalion of professional military personnel is already being trained for such operations; we estimate that it could become operational at the beginning of next spring.

Given the need to enhance the capacity of the United Nations in this dynamic exercise of its functions, the support and cooperation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are all the more needed and welcomed. In this regard, the contributions of other regional agreements and organizations, and particularly the praiseworthy work carried out by the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, are of great importance.

At the same time, in order to preserve the prestige and credibility of peacekeeping operations and to ensure the confidence of the international community, such operations must strictly observe the principles and premises which have contributed to their success thus far. Therefore, we must be cautious in granting any unilateral authority that some countries might be tempted to assume in areas where they have special interests. This applies especially when there are doubts about the impartiality of forces involved, or when the necessary consent of the host country may be prejudiced by any kind of pressure.

Wisdom and caution are all the more necessary in this respect, since we recognize the United Nations peace-keeping operations as an important dimension of a future new world order.

Human beings and their creative potential must always remain the central focus of all our endeavours. We welcome the encouraging results of the World Conference on Human Rights, and we hope that these conclusions, including those concerning the creation of a post of High Commissioner for Human Rights, will be implemented as soon as possible. We also hope that the World Summit on Social Development, to be held in 1995, will be even more successful.

I am very pleased to reaffirm that respect for the human person has become a generally accepted norm in our strategy for social development. Romania is now a party to almost all the major international agreements on human rights and is engaged with all openness in the relevant international procedures.

International commitments to uphold human rights and the rule of law are closely linked to national legislation through a constitutional clause that enshrines the primacy of international regulations over domestic law. The admission of Romania as a member of the Council of Europe, as was recommended earlier today by an overwhelming majority in the Council's parliamentary assembly, will complete this picture. In short, international standards and norms are at the same time our standards and norms.

Certainly, progress, particularly in the field of human rights, is not just a matter of drafting and passing new laws and regulations: it is also a matter of their implementation in a social environment. No less important is the economic aspect. Standards of living and quality of life have a considerable impact on human rights. That is why we are striving to make social protection a basic dimension of our reform programme.

The protection of the rights of people belonging to ethnic minorities is an integral part of the protection of human rights. In Romania there are 14 national and ethnic minorities registered as such through their political parties or organizations. All together they represent about 10 per cent of the population. Since 1989 we have been making steady efforts to institute measures to protect the rights of persons belonging to national minorities.

The establishment this year of the National Council of Minorities broadened the institutional framework, enabling each and every national minority in Romania to take part in the decision-making process regarding the protection of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity. It is true that we have not responded completely to all their demands and aspirations. The explanation for this lies, not in a lack of will, but in the difficulties confronting the entire population.

Yet we would underline that the excessive use of minority-related issues is harmful to the interests of minorities themselves, those of the majority of the population, and those of the international community as a whole. Unfortunately, such tendencies, expressing aggressive nationalism as well as xenophobia, racism and anti-Semitism, are still significant destabilizing factors and a threat to international peace and security in Eastern and Central Europe as elsewhere. Caution is therefore needed in dealing with these phenomena, as well as with the so-called new concept of the right to self-determination, in order to prevent any debasement of its legal content.

The Romanian delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to reaffirm its great satisfaction over the Israeli-Palestinian declaration of principles on Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and Jericho, signed on 13 September 1993 in Washington, D.C. In the view of the Romanian Government, their mutual recognition and the declaration of principles represent a triumph of the reason and political will of both the Israeli Government and the Palestine Liberation Organization, thus opening up new possibilities for peaceful coexistence and collaboration, not only between their two peoples, but among all the peoples in the region. The lion's share of the credit certainly goes to the two parties directly involved, but we cannot overlook the contribution of the international community, of the United States Government, and of the Governments of other countries. In this connection, I am very pleased to recall the constant efforts deployed by my country for peace and understanding between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples.

With regard to the conflict in the eastern region of the Republic of Moldova, the conclusions expressed last year by the Romanian delegation are, unfortunately, still valid in large part. No progress whatsoever has been made towards the political solution of the conflict. Moreover, we are witnessing a strange situation in which the commander-in-chief of the 14th Russian army - a foreign army on the national soil of an independent country without the consent of that United Nations Member - was recently "elected" as a member of the so-called local parliament.

In our opinion, the withdrawal of foreign troops is the key to the solution of the conflict in the Transdniestr area. We note with full satisfaction that a similar viewpoint is shared by the international community. A resolute affirmation of this position at the current session of the General Assembly would be instrumental in upholding the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova. The recent positive developments on the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Baltic countries, an item which is to be debated at the current session of the General Assembly, could serve as a useful precedent.

Within the same framework we should like to acknowledge the efforts of the mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and to assure it of our full support for the accomplishment of its tasks. We favour the resumption of the quadripartite mechanism of meetings between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs from the Republic of Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation and Ukraine.

The Republic of Moldova needs both the understanding and the support of the international community. A very promising sign in this respect is the prompt international reaction to the so-called trial in Tiraspol, where a group of persons was detained for political reasons by the self-proclaimed authorities of Transdniestr. Their lives are still in danger. This trial reveals the political nature of the conflict in the Republic of Moldova.

Despite the energetic diplomatic efforts made to date, the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia are far from being resolved. As a neighbour and friend to all the successor States, Romania is genuinely interested to see the earliest possible resumption of normal life in that region. Putting an end to the sufferings of the people and to the continual life-threatening risks to the lives of the members of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is an immediate imperative.

Romania reiterates its great appreciation of the constant efforts deployed by the two Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia. In this context we should stress the Romanian Government's commitment to continuing its efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav conflict and its support for the peace process co-sponsored by the United Nations and the European Community.

Convinced that a negotiated peace is the only acceptable solution to the conflict, Romania will add its diplomatic efforts to those of other countries in the region. The success of our joint efforts is vital for the new Europe we wish to build and for the future stability of the region.

In the context of the Yugoslav crisis, Romania complies strictly with the sanctions regime imposed by the relevant Security Council's resolutions. Despite painful effects on our economy in the midst of a period of crisis and transition, we consider these measures a necessary means of supporting the peace-seeking efforts.

The presence of European Economic Community and CSCE sanctions assistance missions and of a small Western European Union fleet that is patrolling the Romanian sector of the river has tightened the already-existing monitoring mechanisms. We have also engaged in close coordination with the other riparian countries.

Notwithstanding these efforts, we have not received suitable compensation to defray our tremendous economic losses. We are certainly encouraged by the increasing awareness on the part of the international community and the Security Council, in the spirit of Article 50 of the United Nations Charter, with respect to the difficulties being experienced by Romania and other affected countries. We should like, however, to see this spirit given material form.

The United Nations bodies and international financial institutions should respond to the needs of our countries rather than leave us to fend for ourselves in seeking solutions to the burdensome difficulties we face as a result of acting as loyal Members of the United Nations.

We welcome the serious debate in various United Nations bodies on the issue of compensations. The recommendations adopted by the Committee of the Security Council established under resolution 724 (1991) express genuine moral support and solidarity. Unfortunately, we must accept the fact that moral support is not enough; we cannot face serious economic needs with nothing more than fine words. We await strengthened consultative mechanisms for considering concrete solutions to these problems, and we hope that the international financial institutions will be more receptive.

This would bring well-deserved assistance to the affected countries, while at the same time increasing confidence in the authority of the United Nations Charter and its ability to preserve the dedication of countries to the cause of peace.

We believe that the end of the cold war will result in new general and specific duties for the members of the international community. If our common goals as Members of the United Nations are democracy, peace and security, then solidarity is an essential means of achieving those goals. One of the most original contributions the United Nations could make during the current United Nations Decade of International Law would be to define the legal content of the "duty of solidarity" which should be implemented in consonance with the universally accepted principles of *jus gentium*, democracy and human rights. In our view solidarity should become one of the central strategic values of the new world order.

Undoubtedly we still live in a time of great challenges for the world community and the United Nations. Though it is true that many of the great expectations raised by the end of the cold war have not yet been fulfilled, we should not give up hope. The best way to turn hope into reality is to work together, leaving both unfruitful habits and selfish considerations behind us. Our joint efforts must, above all, be an expression of a vital, powerful solidarity and of confidence in what we can do together for a better tomorrow.

Mr. DI TELLA (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I congratulate Ambassador Insanally on his election. I have no doubt that he will conduct our work in a wise and balanced manner, in the same way as his predecessor, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Mr. Ganev.

Once again, we welcome the new Member States, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Monaco, Eritrea and Andorra.

We also reiterate our gratitude to and support for the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, who with clear objectives and diplomatic efficiency has undertaken the new tasks of the United Nations in an international climate that is problematic but promising.

Serious conflicts, such as that in the former Yugoslavia and the sensitive situation in Somalia, still remain, and are the object of the work and efforts of the United Nations. There are long-standing regional confrontations and frictions resulting from certain national, cultural or religious identities; ignored for long periods, they are now demanding their rights, and not always in a peaceful manner.

Moreover, there are still sharp economic imbalances between nations and regions, as well as the serious risk that the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations will fail because some Governments insist on maintaining anachronistic protectionist policies that adversely affect the trade opportunities of countries such as Argentina.

Above and beyond these problems, this is also a time of hope and optimism; we are heartened by the expansion of democracy, the globalization of the concept of human rights, and the economic openness and reform in regions where state control once prevailed and where today the basis for freedom and the continual quest for peace is growing.

Perhaps there is no better symbol of this hope and optimism than the historic agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Arab-Israeli conflict has until now been one of the more disturbing issues in contemporary history and one of the greatest obstacles to peace and stability. The consequences of this prolonged and painful confrontation have been felt everywhere; hence all humankind rejoices at the agreements that have been reached.

These agreements undoubtedly reflect the tenacious and intelligent diplomacy of the parties, the special contribution of Governments such as those of the United States, the Russian Federation and Norway and the support of the members of the Security Council; but, above all, they attest to the courage, intelligence and maturity of the peoples and leaders of Israel and Palestine. Today we wish to pay a tribute to all of them.

Since its origin, the conflict in the Middle East has been of particular concern to Argentina, *inter alia*, because the Arab and Jewish communities in our country have always coexisted peacefully. That is why we have always hoped for peace and respected the need to avoid confrontation and achieve a just and lasting solution taking account of the interests of both parties.

The agreements reached can be considered as a breakthrough in that direction. They open the door to a global settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and that is why we rejoice at their attainment and firmly support them. We call upon all States, particularly those which have interests or influence in the Middle East, to join resolutely in the support that the circumstances require.

The Republic of Argentina considers the maintenance of international peace and security as essential. Hence, my Government considers that the efficient functioning of the Security Council must be a priority for the Organization.

Argentina has therefore clearly defined its position on an eventual restructuring of the Security Council. In our opinion, that body has recovered the role assigned to it by the Charter. Any changes in its structure should therefore be made solely on the basis of consensus, always respecting the principle of the sovereign equality of States, and taking care not to endanger its ability to fulfil effectively the responsibilities assigned to it by the Charter. Hence we must act with the utmost prudence, and on the basis of the aforementioned principle, in making changes that would introduce structural modifications, creating, for example, new categories of privilege. In any case, it would be counter-productive to ignore the position of those countries that have actively demonstrated their firm and continued support for the Council's important work.

Mr. Bull (Liberia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Argentina, for example, resolutely and actively supports the system of collective security provided for in the Charter and the decisions of the Security Council. That support has been repeatedly demonstrated through concrete action in accordance with Council decisions, and in particular through our active presence in peace-keeping operations.

At present, Argentina is participating in nine peace-keeping operations; in the last few months alone, we have pledged to send three new groups of our armed forces to Mozambique, Kuwait and Cyprus: a field hospital, a unit of engineers and an infantry battalion respectively.

Argentina has the firm political determination to support United Nations peace-keeping operations, within its means. At the same time, I am obliged to mention some issues that currently affect the normal development of the operations and that somehow limit the ability of Member States to participate to the extent they would desire.

We consider it a priority to do as much as possible in order to guarantee the safety of the men and women who participate in peace-keeping operations.

The arrears in the payment by Member States of their contributions and the subsequent delays in reimbursements to troop-contributing Governments have created very serious financial problems for those Governments. For that reason - and also because of their own domestic budget limitations - these countries find it ever more difficult to increase their contributions of troops and equipment. A mechanism should be established at once to find a solution. In this context, we welcome the efforts of the office of the Secretary-General, as well as the initiative with respect to creating stand-by forces.

The priority goal of peace also imposes on us a firm commitment to each State in the struggle against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This commitment is one of the main focuses of Argentine foreign policy. Hence, we have brought total transparency to the Argentine nuclear programme. With that aim in view, we and Brazil have signed an agreement on full-scope safeguards with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); we have already ratified it. In the same spirit, we have discontinued the missile project CONDOR II.

In addition, together with Brazil and Chile, we have promoted amendments to the Treaty of Tlatelolco that would strengthen that major agreement and make it effective; we hope that these will soon be approved by the Argentine Parliament.

At the same time, Argentina has been admitted to the Missile Technology Control Regime, whose guidelines we have included in our domestic legislation, and is a member of the so-called Australian Group. We are among the original signatories of the Convention on Chemical Weapons, and we participated actively in its drafting; we will soon start the proceedings for its legislative approval.

We firmly support the negotiation, in the framework of the Conference on Disarmament, of a treaty to ban all nuclear tests. The moratorium respected in practice by the nuclear Powers points to the existence of favourable conditions for the total ban of such tests.

In the field of armaments, we support the United Nations Register of conventional weapons, to which we have recently supplied all the relevant information and data. We are particularly interested in the functioning of the Register in our own region; last March, in Buenos Aires, we organized, jointly with the United Nations, a very successful regional seminar on this very important subject.

Latin America is now going through a promising stage. The climate of cooperation and harmony prevailing in the region contributes to political stability and economic development. The expansion and consolidation of democracy and economic and social growth have also been stimulated as a result of the strong impetus given to the process of regional integration. As regards the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR), Argentina expresses the firm political will and determination to contribute to its strengthening. In this context we must acknowledge the positive role of the Rio Group, which has been consolidated as an increasingly useful and trustworthy mechanism for dialogue, cooperation and consultation.

The Group's information and internal communication systems have been enhanced, which enables it to take unified positions on common problems. This has increased its influence in the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS), where it has played a constructive and effective role, for example in relation to the crisis in Haiti.

Indeed, Haiti is a case in which we note the opening of a path towards democracy - albeit with certain difficulties. Argentina welcomes the agreement reached under the auspices of the United Nations and the OAS for the restoration of democracy in that nation, through the successful mediation of Mr. Dante Caputo, whose performance is a source of legitimate pride for my country. Provided that the Haiti agreements are respected in their entirely, effective 30 October the Argentine Republic will contribute, in the framework of relevant Security Council resolutions, a field hospital to be used in the operation the

United Nations and the OAS will conduct together to support the consolidation of democracy in that country.

As regards El Salvador, we note with satisfaction the substantive progress represented by the peace agreements recently signed. We trust that the elections to be held next March will mark a decisive stage in efforts to consolidate democracy.

We also express our support for the re-establishment of constitutional order in Guatemala and we encourage its people and Government to continue their efforts to strengthen democracy and the rule of law.

There has been remarkable progress in the consolidation of a climate of peace and détente in Latin America as a whole, thanks to the restoration of democracy and to economic reforms. There is still one case about which we are concerned and about which we have repeatedly expressed our hope for profound change. The best option is to move forward in the same direction as the rest of the continent. Delays will only bring about more suffering for its people and more concern on the part of their Latin American brothers.

The strengthening of a climate of harmony in Latin America requires new ideas leading to the development of a structure of regional security adapted to the present times and based on cooperation, balance and transparency. We believe that cooperative security is a realistic and feasible proposal for Latin America, and we urge the countries of the region to give it special consideration.

Latin America must enter fully into the new international context. In accordance with the Secretary-General's ideas on the role of regional organizations as stated in his "Agenda for Peace", it should strengthen the contribution of the Organization of American States to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Argentina shares with the rest of the international community the constant anguish caused by the conflict unfolding in the former Yugoslavia and supports efforts aimed at an urgent solution.

We are contributing significantly to the work of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), a force that has helped save thousands of lives and has worked to prevent the intensification of conflict in the areas where it is deployed.

We support the resolutions of the Security Council on this subject, and strongly condemn the practice of "ethnic cleansing" and other war crimes. Consequently, we support the establishment of an international tribunal to try those allegedly responsible for violating international humanitarian law. We particularly condemn the inhuman attacks on the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina and reaffirm the need to reach an agreement acceptable to all parties involved, based on the principles of the London Conference.

We are deeply concerned particularly about the serious consequences that civil and international armed conflicts have on children. We urge the international community as a whole to devote the utmost attention to this serious problem and to initiate with the greatest urgency appropriate assistance plans to alleviate the suffering of children, especially in situations like the one in Somalia or the former Yugoslavia. This question - like those concerning the family - should be given the greatest attention by organizations such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

With respect to Cyprus, I reiterate our support for a prompt solution to the conflict, and we urge the parties to accept the plan developed by the Secretary-General's mission of good offices.

I also reaffirm our express support for United Nations resolutions aimed at guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Kuwait and peace and security in the region. We will continue to support the recently adopted Security Council decisions that, in connection with this specific case, demand respect for the inviolability of the international border - that have already been defined - and the right of navigational access.

As regards South Africa, we welcome, together with the rest of the international community, the recently adopted legislative measures aimed at guaranteeing free and fair elections next April and establishing the Transitional Executive Council. We continue to support the multiparty negotiating process towards a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa. This is another of those world events that are on the point of crystallizing in the next few months, and whose importance is really much greater than we could have imagined even just a few months ago.

I must mention once again the question of the Malvinas islands, just as we did a few weeks ago before the Special Committee on decolonization. I reaffirm

Argentina's well-founded and unequivocal sovereign rights over those territories and over the South Georgia and South Sandwich islands. The peaceful and negotiated recovery of the islands is a central and permanent issue in our foreign policy.

The United Nations Special Committee on decolonization, at its recent session, adopted, for the first time without a vote, a resolution on this question, in which the parties are once again urged to start negotiations. We therefore stand ready to do so.

As I informed the Special Committee, our relations with the United Kingdom would be excellent but for the conflict in the South Atlantic, where apart from the central dispute there are problems in specific areas. However, within this overall picture, there has also been progress in some of those areas.

We have made progress in reducing the security restrictions inherited from the 1982 conflict and we have reached a provisional understanding on fishing for 1993. We now have to negotiate a new agreement - which is being made difficult because of certain recent unilateral British jurisdictional decisions over the South Georgia and South Sandwich islands - that must necessarily reflect Argentina's legitimate decision now to relate its own catch to the actual potential of the area.

As regards oil, there is still an impasse, both because of the rejection of a specific proposal for cooperation put forward by Argentina and because of the United Kingdom's preference for acting unilaterally. We are still convinced that there is no realistic alternative to cooperation. We are sure that potential investors will also see it that way, because their situation would be highly uncertain and unstable in any other context.

Argentina's relationship with the islanders is an area in which there have been important developments in the last few months.

Since the last session of the General Assembly, there have been communications between the inhabitants of the islands and Argentina. I personally have been in touch several times with some of them. My Government reiterates its conviction that it is in everybody's interest to establish normal relations between the islands and the continent. We reaffirm that Argentina and the United Kingdom are the only parties to the dispute, but we underline also our willingness to conduct a dialogue with the inhabitants of the territory because they deserve our consideration and respect. We are also aware of the weight their opinion carries in London.

The dialogue with the islanders has wide support in my country, and is a natural development in the civilized search for a solution to the conflict. It is important that the islanders themselves also understand that this is an inevitable step, because the only realistic alternative is to march forward together.

The recent World Conference in Vienna ratified the universal and binding nature of respect for human rights. Today it is no longer possible to claim, as despotic governments have in the past, that the treatment States afford their citizens is exclusively an internal affair.

It is a fact that the principle of absolute sovereignty has become relative and that the international community, acting within the framework of the United Nations, has laid the legal foundations for denouncing violations of human rights wherever they occur and for implementing specific measures to ensure that human rights can be exercised to the full. We therefore support the establishment of the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Furthermore, in the opinion of the Argentine Government, there must be universal and complete freedom of the press, because this is a fundamental guarantee of respect for other essential human rights. Whatever excesses there may be in the exercise of press freedom are nothing compared with the awful drawbacks of policies that restrict that freedom.

Argentina supports the restructuring of the United Nations economic and social system in order to increase its effectiveness and global credibility in that area.

In the field of the environment and development, we continue to give high priority to the implementation of Agenda 21 and the Conventions on climatic change and biodiversity and to the use of the global environment facility as a financial mechanism for implementing environmental projects in the those and the related areas of marine pollution and the ozone layer.

Argentina will participate actively in the International Conference on Population and Development to be held in 1994. We support the negotiating process now under way and we agree with the conceptual framework agreed upon for the programme of action in that field.

We shall also participate actively in the World Summit for Social Development, and we stress the great importance of the negotiating process and of what is included in the Summit's agenda.

I should like to refer to the deterioration in the Organization's financial situation, which is so seriously affecting its regular activities and is endangering the normal functioning of peace-keeping operations.

Reality tells us that the only way to solve the problem is the timely payment in full of the financial obligations of Member States. Such payment is a fundamental factor in restoring the financial soundness of the United Nations, but it is undoubtedly not the only one. We consider that it is indispensable for immediate steps to be taken to make the allocation and use of the Organization's scarce resources more efficient, thus avoiding administrative disorder and possible irregularities or substandard management practices.

A proper balance between budgetary control and the implementation of activities will enable us to achieve the financial consolidation needed to fulfil the goals set out in the Charter.

In conclusion, we wish to reiterate our firm conviction that, despite the serious problems that still obtain, we are witnessing an encouraging development in the principles that in their time guided the founding fathers of the United Nations.

Those ideals of universal peace today seem more within our grasp and in that context the Argentine Republic, a democratic and peace-loving nation, is genuinely willing to contribute to strengthening an international system based on law and justice, and guaranteed by the United Nations.

Mr. PETERSEN (Denmark): Let me begin by congratulating President Insanally of Guyana on his election to the presidency of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I feel confident that under his guidance we shall succeed in strengthening the United Nations and establishing peace and prosperity.

The number and importance of the challenges facing the United Nations after its almost 50 years of existence call for reforms. The number of Members is increasing. Now that the cold war has ended, the United Nations, and notably the Security Council, is in a better position than ever to function as foreseen in the Charter. The peoples of the world are looking more and more to the United Nations to solve their conflicts. The United Nations is expected to bring political stability and economic prosperity to all parts of the world. The United Nations is expected to play a leading role in surmounting the poverty gap. It is expected to secure ecologically sustainable development. The United Nations is expected to provide development assistance, environmental assistance and emergency assistance. It is expected to play a leading role in securing democracy and respect for human rights, including women's and children's rights. It is expected to bring relief to refugees and displaced persons. And the United Nations is expected to prevent the spread of the means of mass destruction.

Reform of the United Nations is necessary to meet these challenges. Let me concentrate on seven items on the reform agenda.

First, Denmark attaches particular importance to the role of the Security Council as stated in the Charter. The efficiency of the Council in making decisions during the recent past has raised new expectations as to its ability to respond to crises.

It is therefore important to ensure that the Council membership reflects the situation of today. The Government of Denmark recognizes that the developing countries have a case for improving their representation. We also recognize that there are countries with global influence and responsibilities that may wish to see this acknowledged in the composition of the Security Council. Those Member States will, I am sure, also assume a special responsibility *vis-à-vis* the activities of the United Nations and, in particular, to contribute politically, militarily and financially to the implementation of the Council's decisions.

As my second point I wish to recall that Denmark has always participated actively in the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. Consequently, it stands ready to discuss how to strengthen the Organization in the area of peace-keeping, peacemaking and preventive diplomacy. The Nordic countries intend to follow this question with particular interest with a view to putting forward proposals during this session of the Assembly.

The deployment of a largely Nordic peace-keeping force in Macedonia is a concrete example of preventive deployment. In addition, Denmark is setting up a reaction brigade of 4,500 soldiers. They could be deployed in peace-keeping, peacemaking and humanitarian United

Nations operations. We are ready to make part of that force available for the United Nations stand-by force arrangement. The stand-by force arrangement could be vital in improving the planning, reducing the lead-time and increasing the flexibility in the peace-keeping field.

Denmark supports a more active role for the United Nations in conflict prevention and crisis management. I welcome the fact that some of the recommendations in "An Agenda for Peace" in this respect have already been implemented.

Thirdly, the World Conference on Human Rights in June this year in Vienna reaffirmed the universal character of human rights. The conference also focused on the human rights of women, and rightly so: women's rights *are* human rights.

The General Assembly should decide to establish the post of high commissioner for human rights, as recommended by that Conference. We should also take steps substantially to increase the resources for the United Nations human rights programme, including the United Nations Centre for Human Rights.

There are times when the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a Member State must yield to a decision by the international community to secure respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, such as freedom from hunger and protection from genocide. Furthermore, the right of the civilian population to receive humanitarian assistance must also be respected, regardless of national frontiers.

Denmark fully supports efforts to secure the safety and protection of United Nations personnel operating in areas of armed conflict.

Fourthly, we also need a strong United Nations in the economic and social fields. The United Nations must respond effectively to the economic and social needs of the developing countries. There can be no lasting peace and security unless the growing inequalities are addressed. The "agenda for development" to be drafted in the coming year by the Secretary-General will, it is hoped, contribute to setting the priorities for the United Nations for the twenty-first century.

By attaining the accepted United Nations targets for official development assistance - 0.7 per cent of gross national product and within that 0.15 per cent to the least developed countries - we would dramatically increase the volume of support for the developing countries. That would also clearly demonstrate the world's commitment to deal seriously with its economic and social problems.

Fifthly, as is well known, Denmark contributes substantially to United Nations development activities. Our contributions must be used to the optimum benefit of developing countries and not lost in bureaucracy and inefficiency. We must convince donors that the United Nations and its funds and programmes can serve as efficient channels for a large part of their development assistance. If not, other channels will increasingly be used. Member States must demonstrate their commitment to fundamental reform - not just window-dressing.

During the past year a compromise solution for restructuring and revitalizing the United Nations in the economic and social fields was carefully negotiated, but finally not agreed upon. The Government of Denmark deeply regrets this situation. We sincerely hope that it will be remedied by this session of the General Assembly.

Sixthly, it must be recognized that social peace is as important as strategic peace. We see the World Summit for Social Development to be held in Copenhagen in March 1995 as an opportunity to put people at the centre of development. To us, democratic practices and fair distribution of resources are closely related to dynamic economic development.

The Copenhagen Summit and the fourth World Conference on Women will both mark the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1995. The preparations for the women's Conference should lead to a substantial input for the Copenhagen Summit. Likewise, the outcome of the Copenhagen Summit ought to be a strong message from the world's leaders signalling their commitment to closing the gap between men's and women's social and economic opportunities.

My seventh point concerns the Secretariat. Since he took office the Secretary-General has carried out a number of changes in the Secretariat. I commend the Secretary-General for these changes and assure him of our support in his efforts to make the Secretariat more efficient.

All efforts should be undertaken to eradicate corruption, waste and mismanagement in the Secretariat. I welcome the establishment of the post of Assistant Secretary-General for Inspections and Investigations. This is the first step towards the creation of the post of Inspector-General. But such initiatives cannot of

themselves solve the financial crisis of the United Nations. That requires that Member States pay their assessed contributions on time and in full. That is one of the basic requirements for membership of the Organization.

I fail to understand how Member States, including some of the permanent members of the Security Council, can call for United Nations assistance, including in peace-keeping operations, and then not pay. This leaves the United Nations unable to perform vital functions. It also leaves troop contributors such as Denmark with the problem that the United Nations does not honour its financial obligations to us - that is, to repay expenses for Danish United Nations personnel and equipment.

Let me now turn to a few current problems facing the world and the United Nations.

In the Middle East we are witnessing a historic breakthrough. I pay tribute to the Israelis and the Palestinians for having taken this step towards a comprehensive, just and lasting solution. I commend Norway for its role in bringing about this agreement.

I also welcome the fact that Israel and Jordan have signed an agenda for further negotiations. I hope that progress will soon be made in the Israeli-Syrian and Israeli-Lebanese tracks of the peace process.

Ample support, both economic and political, is essential to keep momentum, and must be provided by the international community. Denmark, at an early stage, together with the other Nordic countries, decided to pledge a substantial amount. We have also demonstrated our commitment to the developments in the Middle East region through the European Community, the major donor in this context.

In contrast, it is with dismay we see the developments in the former Yugoslavia. The international community should accept only a solution reached by peaceful means and negotiations. In this connection, I pay tribute to the tireless efforts of Lord Owen and Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg.

The solution to the crises must respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We cannot accept a territorial solution dictated by Serbs and Croats at the expense of the Bosnian Muslims. It is extremely important now that all parties show the necessary flexibility in order to arrive at a solution they all can freely agree to. Such an arrangement must ensure the protection of human rights and the rights of minorities.

Sanctions will remain in place until conditions for their lifting have been met. They should not be eased before a peace agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina is under faithful implementation by the Serbian side. Future attempts to hinder humanitarian aid and the guaranteed free passage of convoys are unacceptable and will have serious consequences for relations between the party responsible and the European Community.

By its resolution 827 (1993), the Security Council decided to establish the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991. Denmark strongly supports this decision.

The conflict in the former Yugoslavia is probably the most difficult task taken on by the United Nations in its history. Denmark participates in the United Nations Protection Force with almost 1,300 peace-keepers and has made substantive contributions to the European Community Monitoring Mission. Large numbers of Danes are also involved in the humanitarian work carried out under the auspices of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In addition, Denmark has made large financial contributions to the various international relief programmes and through Danish non-governmental organizations.

Responding to the calls for swift and effective implementation of Security Council resolution 836 (1993) on safe areas, the Nordic countries have decided to field a joint Nordic United Nations battalion group of about 1,300 men to protect the safe areas around Tuzla in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The force is expected to be ready for deployment in October. That decision is evidence of the willingness of the Nordic countries to make their contribution to resolving the tragic conflict and protect the civilian population from the horrors of war.

In the African continent, we see both hope and continued distress, regional conflicts and violations of basic human rights.

As Mr. Nelson Mandela eloquently told the Special Committee against Apartheid last Friday, historic advances towards democracy in South Africa have been achieved. I welcome his call to lift the economic and diplomatic sanctions *vis-à-vis* his country. I also share his view that

this will give added impetus to the process, and strengthen the forces, of democratic change.

I wish to recall the decision of the European Community and its member States on 8 June 1993 to adjust their policy towards South Africa concurrently with developments towards majority rule and democracy.

Denmark stands ready to support South African efforts to normalize relations with the United Nations. The United Nations, for its part, should support South Africa during its difficult transitional period. An urgent priority should be to support the first democratic elections. It is essential that they be free and fair. I can only echo Mr. Mandela's call last week to the Security Council to consider how the United Nations can best support South Africa in this endeavour. It must be ensured that this last mile on the road to democracy is successful. Denmark intends to make a substantial contribution. We will also - once the Transitional Executive Council has been established - initiate a programme of transitional assistance to South Africa amounting to approximately 600 million Danish kroner, or about $100 million.

The level of violence in South Africa remains unacceptably high; it is the single most serious threat to the process. We appeal to all parties to make every effort to stop the violence. The international community should continue to support such efforts.

In Somalia the situation is still very grave. The deplorable actions in the form of continued attacks directed against the United Nations Operation in Somalia forces and relief and aid personnel cannot be condemned strongly enough. All parties in the civil strife must understand that violence does not pay in the long run. We support the efforts by the United Nations to bring about a negotiated settlement in Somalia as well as the efforts to relieve the suffering of the people.

Civil strife and violations of the most basic human rights have characterized the Sudan for far too long. The Secretary-General has appointed a Special Envoy Humanitarian Affairs for the Sudan. Denmark urges all parties to seek political solutions to the problems of the country. We fully support the work of the Special Envoy as well as other steps to redress the prevailing situation, including the violation of human rights.

Denmark congratulates the people of Cambodia on the historic and successful elections for a Constituent Assembly and on that Assembly's presentation of a new constitution. The impressively high voter participation and the Constituent Assembly's dedication in fulfilling its task constitute a victory for democracy and for the peace process.

I also wish to thank the Secretary-General, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and participating international polling-station officers for their enormous effort and hard work.

The international community must continue its support for the peace process and for the reconstruction of Cambodia. I can confirm Denmark's commitment in that respect.

This year, 1993, is the International Year of the World's Indigenous People. The Government of Denmark wishes to promote indigenous peoples' own organizations with a view to their full participation in political, economic, social and cultural life. In collaboration with the Home Rule Government of Greenland, we support all efforts to increase awareness of the special situation facing indigenous peoples, including the Inuit of Greenland.

A particular concern of Denmark is that the indigenous peoples who have been permanent residents of the Arctic for millenniums are at risk from environmental degradation. On 16 September 1993 the Government of Denmark and the Home Rule Government of Greenland hosted the second Ministerial Conference on the Arctic Environment, at Nuuk, the capital of Greenland. In the Nuuk Declaration, adopted and signed at that Conference, the eight Arctic countries recognized the special role of indigenous peoples in environmental management and in development in the Arctic and the significance of their knowledge and traditional practices. The Government of Denmark will establish and fund a secretariat to promote the indigenous peoples' effective participation in the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy and in the achievement of sustainable development in the Arctic.

In conclusion, let me state that there is no alternative to our United Nations. Only the United Nations has the necessary legitimacy to undertake humanitarian action, peace-keeping operations, the creation of an international tribunal, and assistance to suffering peoples around the world.

At the same time, the need for reforms in the United Nations is evident. The job facing all of us as Member States is to agree in concrete terms on such reforms. We must show that behind the words spoken from this rostrum

lies a will to enable the United Nations to serve the many functions we the peoples are asking for.

Mr. SYLLA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): I am delighted to be addressing the General Assembly as the people of Guinea commemorate a historic date: 28 September 1958, the day on which Guinea, by a unanimous vote, chose national independence and sovereignty, thus accelerating the process of liberation of the African peoples.

It will be easy, then, to understand the pride and pleasure I take on this anniversary in conveying a message of peace and friendship from the people of Guinea and from their President, General Lansana Conté.

I join previous speakers in congratulating Ambassador Insanally on his dazzling election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. I wish also to assure him of my delegation's complete support as he carries out his responsible tasks. His personal qualities, his wealth of experience and the valuable assistance of his fellow-officers - whom I also congratulate - bode well for the success of our work.

I wish also to convey to the President of the Assembly at its forty-seventh session, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, my great appreciation for the skill and dedication with which he guided the work of that session.

Finally, my delegation highly appreciates the praiseworthy efforts made by the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has worked tirelessly to build and maintain peace in the face of all the obstacles in his way.

The independence of the sister republic of Eritrea and its admission to membership of the Organization were a source of great relief for its people and of genuine satisfaction for the international community. I welcome Eritrea and wish it great success in its difficult task of national reconstruction.

I welcome the admission of Eritrea, and that of the Czech Republic, Slovakia and the Principalities of Monaco and Andorra; this confirms the increasingly universal character of our Organization.

The end of the cold war radically changed world geopolitics through a rapid series of often unforeseeable events. While it is possible to believe that the threat of a global conflagration has been lifted, we note with dismay the proliferation and exacerbation of armed conflicts that are causing immense loss of life, great destruction of infrastructure and property, and severe suffering among civilians suffering the agony of exile, famine and sickness.

What a paradox! On the one hand, the international community is making intense efforts to prevent or contain armed conflicts, and on the other hand international action is not being provided with the resources it needs to eliminate the causes and the manifestations of those conflicts. That is a salient feature of today's international relations.

In short, more resources are needed to restore world peace.

None the less, it is reassuring that recent history has favoured the renaissance of the United Nations; thanks to changed attitudes and perceptions, the Organization has truly become the guarantor of peace at a difficult moment in international relations.

The positive trends that we have seen here and there in finding solutions to political problems ought to have promoted an improvement in the economic and social situation in many countries. However, in most developing countries, that situation has instead deteriorated seriously. The increase in the number of international forums debating development programmes has unfortunately not made it possible to reverse the trend towards the imbalances that I have mentioned.

Today, world savings are under severe pressure. What is happening is that the supply of capital for development is inadequate relative to the ever-increasing demand from the African countries, especially if we take into account the new needs of the Eastern countries, which are in the throes of transition. The world economic crisis is still going on; it is aggravating the disparities and the already precarious conditions for development being experience by the third world countries.

For Africa, this crisis has been heightened by drought and desertification, by the stagnation - for which, read reduction - in official development assistance, by the deterioration in terms of trade and its corollary, the marked drop in export earnings, by the counter-productive effects of structural adjustment programmes and by the external debt burden.

Allow me to place a particular emphasis on this last issue. Members will recall that the seriousness of the indebtedness problem led the African Heads of State or Government to propose holding a special summit on African debt. This problem is today still as widespread and as acute as it was before, despite the relief measures undertaken by some creditors. The international community must be persuaded of the fact that so long as the question of indebtedness is not studied in a global, concerted manner, the socio-economic development programmes of the third world will be put in jeopardy as a result.

The lack of resources for development has as its corollary the mass exodus from the countries of the South to the countries of the North; indeed, the only viable solution to this migratory phenomenon lies in economic recovery in the countries of the South.

Environmental problems - the relationship between man and his environment - have in recent years quite rightly been a major concern of the international community. Do I need to stress the fact that man, through his nature-destroying activities, has heightened the progressive degradation of our world to the point where the alarm bells we hear today are sounding?

In the past, man was essentially a passive spectator of the natural wear and tear on the ecological system. Today he has become the main player in the destruction of the natural environment through the combined effects of the inappropriate design and implementation of a number of programmes, through the improper use of science and technology and as a result of runaway population growth.

In contrast, real development must also embrace protection of the environment and the ecological balance. This is precisely why my delegation is emphasizing the need for follow-up to the decisions in the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21. Environmental protection is a common responsibility; all nations must contribute to it. Environmental damage, whether man-made or from natural causes, spares no region on Earth.

My country, which used to enjoy good rainfall and was called the watershed of Western Africa, is concerned to see its rainfall and the rate of flow of its natural watercourses diminish. This is why my Government is interested - in more than one sense - in the negotiations that are taking place within the high-level Commission on Sustainable Development on drafting an international convention to combat desertification and drought in the countries that are being seriously affected.

The persistence of a number of political crises, including those in southern Africa, Somalia, Liberia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and elsewhere, is a threat to the peace and security of mankind.

Fortunately, there is positive progress in South Africa, where a clear awareness appears to have taken hold concerning the vital need to build a democratic and multi-racial society. The establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, as well as the demonstrations for peace by civilian society and a certain degree of political awareness, are cause for optimism, despite some reluctance.

This remarkable improvement in the political climate, which has been achieved, *inter alia*, as a result of the spirit of compromise shown by the various political players, makes it possible, in my delegation's opinion, for the economic sanctions against South Africa to be lifted, as president Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress himself has requested.

That being the case, there is reason for great satisfaction in the activities of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which, through its observer missions and its Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, has contributed greatly, in collaboration with the United Nations, to the peaceful change that has taken place in South Africa.

In Angola, after lighting a glimmer of hope, the process of national reconciliation seems to be blocked by the increased fighting resulting from UNITA's intransigence. But only observance by the parties of the Bicesse Accords and of the election results will allow the Angolan people to regain peace and security. The Security Council's decision on 15 September 1993 recommending the application of sanctions against UNITA must be strengthened and implemented strictly, because only constant firmness with UNITA and its leader will make it possible to put an end to this painful civil war that is sowing death and destruction.

With regard to the Western Sahara, the parties concerned must cooperate with the Secretary-General and with all willing parties in order to implement the peace plan, which is vital for there to be a happy ending to this crisis.

For almost four years now, Liberia has been the theatre for one of the bloodiest civil wars on our continent. The refusal by some of the parties to the conflict to compromise has caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people and considerable material destruction, not to mention the massive outpouring of refugees and displaced persons, in particular into neighbouring countries, including my own, which is at present harbouring some 600,000.

However, it is a source of comfort to note that the negotiations held in July 1993 in Geneva, under the joint auspices of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the United Nations, with the support of OAU, have made it possible to involve the various parties to the conflict in constructive dialogue, the only way of finding a lasting solution to this dreadful crisis.

The signing by the parties concerned of the Geneva Accord under the auspices of ECOWAS on 25 July 1993 at Cotonou means, I hope, that conditions have now been created for a definitive return of peace and stability to this country and to the subregion. But let there be no mistake: to achieve lasting peace, the expansion of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group to include African troops from outside ECOWAS, strengthened by the presence of international observers, is one of the guarantees to bring about the process of assembling troops, disarming the belligerents and holding democratic elections in order to achieve a return to normal constitutional life.

The Somali conflict is becoming ever more tragic. The international community must undertake joint, effective action. In order to achieve a rapid political solution, it is essential to halt the sudden escalations that are complicating the situation in Somalia. The United Nations must resume its peaceful calling in the face of the many acts of violence that are trying both the Blue Helmets and the Somali population.

The Security Council must decide on a new strategy if the last obstacles in the way of pacification are to be overcome and if the mission entrusted to the United Nations Operation in Somalia is to succeed. My Government calls on all parties to the conflict in Somalia to make their contribution to the success of the political process now under way towards the restoration of peace and security in fraternal Somalia.

In the Middle East, after a period of hatred, turbulence and hesitation, the parties to the conflict are moving progressively towards lasting peace.

The signing on 13 September in Washington of the agreement on autonomy for Jericho and Gaza, marking the mutual recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel, resulted from the courage and political realism of the two parties. Guinea, as a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, welcomes this happy turn of events.

For my country peaceful coexistence between the State of Israel and the Palestinian State, under the leadership of the PLO, must be a constant. After Jericho and Gaza, the liberation of all the other territories would then promote the consolidation of relations between the two communities.

The march towards global peace in this very sensitive region is to be encouraged and supported by assistance from the international community, with a view to the socio-economic development of the Palestinian State.

In the Gulf, in order to prevent a new confrontation the international community must ensure that Kuwait and Iraq respect the conclusions of the Boundary Demarcation Commission, which by Security Council resolution 833 (1993) laid down definitively secure and inviolable borders between these two countries.

The relaxation of tension in Cambodia resulting from the success of the elections is putting an end to the long years of martyrdom endured by the Cambodian people. There is reason to be happy over the positive results of the efforts by the international community in this area. Respect for the Paris Agreements will be the guarantee of lasting peace and will facilitate the work of national reconstruction in that country.

With regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the scale of organized killings for irrational reasons, such as "ethnic cleansing" and religion, and the prolongation of the conflict highlight the divisions in this nation - which until recently was strong and united - caused by the end of the cold war.

After many efforts, the three communities involved in the conflict have still not achieved a stable peace. Unfortunately, the law of the jungle continues to prevail in the face of the impotence of some and the indifference of others. There will be true security and lasting peace in

Bosnia and Herzegovina only after serious negotiations guaranteed by the international community in general and by the States of the subregion in particular.

With regard to the Korean peninsula, the international community must support the peaceful reunification of the two States there.

Africa, like other parts of the world, is at an important moment in its history, a time of the democratization of its society and its institutions. The success of this process of qualitative change requires, none the less, taking into account the historic, social and cultural realities of States in order to generate harmonious and lasting development.

The Republic of Guinea has taken important steps along this road. Its achievements include ratification of the majority of the African and international Conventions on human rights and humanitarian law; the adoption of the basic law in our country which calls for a presidential regime, separation of powers, the primacy of law, political pluralism and decentralization; the establishment of a Supreme Court to ensure, among other matters, that there are no irregularities in balloting; the entry into operation of the National Communication Council, whose job it is to ensure the freedom of the press and free and equal access by all political parties to State communications media; and the determination of the Government to organize just and open elections. The presidential balloting will take place on 5 December next, to be followed by elections to the legislature.

In our view, these efforts at democratization in Guinea, as in most other African countries, should have increased support from development partners to guarantee their success.

The convening of a series of international conferences in 1994 and 1995, particularly those regarding population, women and social development, confirm the interest of the international community in improving the economic and social situation of the most vulnerable sectors of our populations. The same is true of their participation in development.

The year 1993 has seen the international community take a more active interest in the emergence of an era of peace and universal respect for human rights.

Two conferences testify to that. Last June in Vienna, and more recently in Geneva, we gathered together to think, to evaluate what has been done, to consider prospects for the future, in order to eliminate the causes of suffering, and to reaffirm our faith in the dignity of the human being.

None the less, the absence of international machinery for the prevention and punishment of serious violations of human rights makes any protection measures ineffective. My Government therefore considers that the creation of a permanent international court with penal powers would be an important step in the protection and promotion of human rights.

Such a jurisdiction, by making inevitable the punishment of the perpetrators of such violations, would make existing international law more effective.

However, we must eliminate from international affairs any tendency to be selective with regard to human rights, in the form of discrimination over which cases should be denounced or over the sanctions that should be applied.

Moreover, the existing link between human rights and other aspects of social development requires the elaboration of national programmes capable of promoting: protection of the family, which is considered to be the basic unit of society; the integration of women into development and their participation in the management of public affairs; the protection of vulnerable categories of people - children, the aged and the handicapped - by establishing conditions favourable to the development of their personalities; and efforts to combat the production, consumption and illicit trafficking in drugs and psychotropic substances through international cooperation, harmonization of national legislation and ratification of existing international Conventions.

Along with these measures, effective strategies must be evolved to combat the pandemic of AIDS, which, because of its ravages, is a great scourge and a threat to mankind's survival.

The progress achieved in disarmament must be pursued in the hope that the resources thus released will contribute to the recovery of the world economy.

In his report on the work of the United Nations and in various communications the Secretary-General has described the Organization's financial situation as being a matter of great concern. The situation is paradoxical. At a time when the United Nations is entrusted with new tasks to be carried out in the service of peace and development the vital resources needed for those tasks are diminishing.

We pay tribute to the Secretary-General and to encourage him in applying austerity measures and in restructuring to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations system.

My delegation strongly urges Member States to honour their financial obligations by paying regularly and on time their assessed contributions in order to ensure the functioning of the United Nations and allow it to play its role effectively.

I hope that the message I have just delivered is one of persistence and hope. This message, based on the realities of the changes in the post-cold-war world and the divisions those changes have caused in some parts of the world, urges the Organization to implement new and dynamic strategies with a view to establishing a new world order based on equality, justice, peace, cooperation and respect for democratic values.

This persistence demands sustained efforts to democratize international relations. The mode of operation and structure of some bodies in the United Nations system must be revised; the decision-making bodies must be streamlined and have an equitable representation of States and regions.

This persistence is the basis of our hope, a hope of mastering our collective future on the threshold of the twenty-first century, a hope that all people will move together towards peace, the development of nations and the promotion of human rights. Our collective survival depends on our solidarity and the effectiveness of our actions to transform that hope into a reality in international relations.

Mr. SKUBISZEWSKI (Poland): I extend congratulations to His Excellency Ambassador Samuel Insanally of Guyana on his election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. May I also thank His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria for his contribution to the success of the previous session. In addition, I should like to stress the deep appreciation of the Polish Government for the work and accomplishments of the Secretary-General of the United Nations over the past year.

Let me first speak about some of the timely goals and tasks of our Organization. I should like to start by discussing the role of the United Nations in organizing peace after the cold war. In the post-cold-war era, the United Nations is facing growing expectations and responsibilities. That trend will continue over the coming years. In an increasingly interdependent world the United Nations, despite its shortcomings and limitations, offers the best avenue for addressing those global problems that are still unresolved and for meeting new challenges as well. The Organization faces the task of creating a better, more democratic and just world. In fact, we badly need a vision of such a world. More often than not, we have to ask ourselves these questions: Are we rising to the occasion? How should we resolve the present crisis of leadership, both within individual States and on the international level?

The United Nations provides an appropriate platform for shaping the vision I am talking about. To begin with, it should be based on the assessment of geopolitical and geoeconomic conditions, in particular on the assumption that the world has become pluralistic, whatever the size and weight of States in international affairs. It should also reflect an increased awareness of the need for a multilateral approach to solving problems.

Four years have elapsed since the end of the cold war. We must not merely adjust to the new situation, but mould it, in order to arrive at a comprehensive solution. The present crisis has many facets. Today, its primary source is unresolved economic and social issues, as well as such political problems as territorial disputes and ethnic tensions. But we have to remember that the process of finding answers to these issues will unavoidably lead in the future to a new alignment of power among States and, as a result, we shall then face the prospect of recourse to force. That question has been partly addressed by the Secretary-General in his "Agenda for Peace." The matter has very broad ramifications, and we still have not elaborated a grand strategy of democratic transformation. I think that the United Nations should start exploring, in a more systemic manner, its role in the world as it is now and as it will be beyond the year 2000. One of the preparatory steps might be the preparation of a report on the United Nations as a leader of global change and the promoter of a new world order after the cold war. Such an assignment could be entrusted to most-knowledgeable individuals, research institutes, transnational corporations and others. The report would serve as a basis for spelling out the future responsibilities of the United Nations and the Member States.

We need a thorough re-examination of the priorities of the United Nations and, consequently, of the whole United Nations system. The main purpose of reform would be to adapt the United Nations to the requirements of peace after the cold war. Reform should take into

account ongoing changes in Member States. This applies, in particular, to countries in transition, not only in Central and Eastern Europe but also in various parts of other continents. Let me take this opportunity to add that Poland is firmly and irreversibly committed to the political and economic transformation it started in 1989, and that its foreign policy has stable priorities.

The fate of the countries in the process of transformation is not their problem alone. Their success or failure is unavoidably going to exert a strong impact on other States. The international community should not fail to back up the transformation process and to assist the new democracies in their continuing efforts to achieve reform, economic recovery, social progress and full participation in international exchanges. Such an approach would assist them in their swifter integration into the world economic system.

The military factor of security retains its significance, although it differs from that of the cold-war era. The United Nations has developed a disarmament agenda. The signing of the chemical weapons Convention by almost 150 States shows how the new political climate facilitates long-awaited agreements and brings us closer to a world free of weapons of mass destruction. We hope that there will be similar positive developments in nuclear disarmament. The initiation of negotiations on a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing constitutes a big step in that direction. The United Nations should also deal with the threat posed by the possible spread of nuclear-weapon capabilities and the proliferation of other weapons of mass destruction. Poland attaches great importance to thorough and constructive preparations for the 1995 Review Conference of the Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

I should now like to turn to the subject of human rights. There are a number of reasons why, after the Vienna Conference, the Organization should devote much of its attention to human rights. In doing so, I believe, it should reflect on these words used by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in addressing the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council:

> "The United Nations is, by its very essence, universal, global and inclusive. It is made up of sovereign States, yet crucially concerned with the well-being of individuals. Its concern with individuals, with their societies and with world society is not, as some would claim, inherently contradictory."

There are differences of opinion on the scope of human rights, on State responsibilities in regard to their observance and on the role of the international community in monitoring them. The United Nations organs must expand their negotiating and mediatory capacities and show much skill in overcoming these divergences. The essential criteria are morality, the inherent dignity of the human person and the rule of law. Human rights must express the common values of the international community. Their implementation is becoming one of the preconditions of worldwide stability and security.

Fundamental human rights are universal; their substance is absolute and unrelated to circumstances. But saying this does not mean that we are closing our eyes to the existence of many different cultures and traditions in the historical development of the various regions of the world. This should be duly taken into account; however, it cannot justify any violations of human rights or non-execution of the relevant instruments. There is no room for treating criticism of such unlawful policies and lawful attempts to redress them as an infringement of the sovereignty of States. In promoting, developing and effectively defending human rights, the United Nations should make these activities part of its cooperation with States.

International peace and security, sustainable development and human rights are the three closely related areas on which the United Nations should concentrate. "An Agenda for Peace", Agenda 21 and the forthcoming agenda for development should, in my view, be complemented by an agenda for human rights. With the results of the Vienna Conference kept in mind, the Agenda for Human Rights would constitute a plan of action for setting standards and implementing rights and preventing violations.

Individuals need better and easier access to international protection of their rights and freedoms. The Organization should revise the grievance procedures and make them more universal. While assuming that the Second and Third Committees will merge into one Economic and Social Committee, Poland would suggest the establishment of a Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Committee as one of the main Committees of the General Assembly. We recommend expanding the responsibilities, competence and rank of the Commission on Human Rights. We also support, as a matter of urgency, the proposal to create an office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Further, we should explore means of promoting human rights on a regional level. A small bureau, which might be located in Warsaw, could be entrusted with monitoring human rights observance in Eastern Europe. This is a sensitive region. Such a bureau would be part of the Geneva office. I have suggested Warsaw because bodies of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe already operate there, a fact that could facilitate cooperation between the United Nations and the European institutions in that field. The region provides much insight into how democracy and human rights are being implemented in States that are undergoing democratic transformation.

One aspect of human rights has become very critical of late. I am referring to the increasing violations of humanitarian law in armed conflicts, whether international or domestic. As the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross emphasized during the recent International Conference on the Protection of Victims of War, held in Geneva, the practice has undergone a change for the worse. With even greater frequency, civilian populations are becoming the hostages and primary targets of fighting warlords. Each and every day the mass media bring us scenes of the atrocities of war. We in the United Nations must not be indifferent to these facts. Poland joins the call for urgent action to revive the observance of humanitarian law and to uphold the authority of the Geneva Conventions as well as their additional Protocols. The Polish Government strongly endorses the Declaration adopted by the Conference on the protection of war victims. In our view, the international community should pay particular attention to the observance of human rights and humanitarian standards in internal strife. War crimes should not go unpunished.

The third task to which I wish to draw the attention of the General Assembly is development. The growing gap between rich and poor nations is a significant source of tensions and conflicts. Even Europe has not been spared, threatened as it is by the emergence of a new "curtain", this one economic. I am confident that the agenda for development under preparation will comprehensively deal with the various aspects of this potential danger. We need a new development paradigm that is people-oriented: human rights have their economic dimension. Economic and social difficulties have a decisive impact on international security and global stability, and often lead to human rights violations. The main thing is to create a spirit of partnership and solidarity. We expect the World Summit for Social Development, to be held in Copenhagen in 1995, to specify the necessary tasks in social development and thereby reinforce sustainable economic development.

I shall now discuss some procedures and methods which are particularly topical in view of the goals and tasks I have enumerated. I will speak first of the settlement and management of disputes. The new world situation calls for renewed and growing attention to international law, its implementation and application. Poland welcomes the enlargement, limited though it still is, of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. It would also be highly desirable if further withdrawals of reservations to the jurisdictional clauses of treaties followed.

Poland supports the Secretary-General's call upon all Member States to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court before the end of the United Nations Decade of International Law in the year 2000. By means of its advisory jurisdiction, the Court might deal with such questions as the legal components of political decisions, the review of administrative action or the relationship between some of the main organs of the United Nations.

The peaceful settlement of disputes requires a new approach. Traditional means, as listed in Article 33 of the Charter might, depending on the merits of each case, be combined with peace-keeping, peace-building or even enforcement measures. We must distinguish between various phases or component parts of the same conflict where each phase will require a different approach or a different procedure. And let us not forget that there are a growing number of conflicts which cannot simply be "settled", at any rate in the foreseeable future. They should, rather, be "managed". All this opens up new vistas for the skilful use of various United Nations mechanisms.

Now I wish to say a few words about peace-keeping. It is a subject that is high on the United Nations agenda. The success and therefore the image of the United Nations are at stake here. The "Agenda for Peace" has set out a conceptual framework. Preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and, in particular, enforcement require sound guidelines, procedures and detailed planning in operational terms. Though a great deal of work has already been accomplished, much more remains to be done. The problems with the clarity of the mandate of the peace-keeping operations, their time frame, management and frugality also require the special attention of the United Nations.

Bearing in mind the alarming number of casualties among both military and civilian peace-keepers, Poland fully supports the idea of the expeditious elaboration of a universally binding legal instrument, possibly in the form of a convention on the safety and security of the personnel of peace-keeping operations. The United Nations should not undertake new operations without clearly identified objectives. What is involved is trust in the Organization and its prospective contribution to the security of all of us.

Regional conflicts figure prominently on the United Nations agenda. In specific cases regional institutions could be helpful, as not all regions have such ready mechanisms for dealing with conflict situations. However, they could strive to establish them. The Security Council, also, could play a role in appropriate instances. The importance of the regional effort is particularly relevant to Africa, which is facing many specific difficulties and problems. We should devote more attention to that continent. Poland supports the initiatives and programmes that aim at the peaceful settlement of conflicts and at the creation or strengthening of democratic institutions in Africa.

In view of the fundamental constitutional reforms now under way in the Republic of South Africa, Poland favours the lifting of sanctions and other restrictions imposed on that country.

Recent developments in the Middle East have shown a genuine will to arrive at a compromise and achieve a peaceful settlement. Poland shares the view that it would be appropriate for the General Assembly to endorse the peace process and call for regional cooperation in the Middle East. At the same time, the Assembly should refrain from repeating such resolutions as could harm this delicate process.

We believe that the present scale of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina could have been avoided had the international community, especially Europe, reacted when there was still time. Obviously, I am aware of the fact that in a conflict whose components are both internal and international, the influence of non-parties is rather limited, and the solution must finally come from within. Poland rejects the policy of appeasement and imposed territorial settlements.

Finally, there is the issue of sanctions. I should like to draw your attention to the implementation of Article 50 of the Charter. I think that Member States which suffer heavy economic losses as a result of applying sanctions should be entitled to something more than mere consultations and a general - hence ineffective - appeal to the international community to take account of their burden. As sanctions have now become more frequent, the resulting problem of economic losses by third countries cannot be ignored, as, in fact, it now is. A satisfactory mechanism should be worked out as a matter of urgency to resolve this issue.

In conclusion, the United Nations, like the world around it, is experiencing a dynamic period of transition influenced by fundamental reassessments and re-evaluations of the potential for peace, development and cooperation among nations.

The Organization is gearing itself to contribute its share towards forging a better future for the world and improving the human condition. It has every opportunity to establish a comprehensive agenda within the trinity of peace and security, sustainable human development, and democracy and human rights. It can thereby fulfil the Charter promise "to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends".

Mr. KARGBO (Sierra Leone): Last year, my Head of State, Captain Valentine E. M. Strasser, acquainted this body with the devastation visited on Sierra Leone as the result of the civil war in Liberia. He described to this Assembly the pain and agony that Sierra Leoneans have had to endure as a result of that conflict, and the ramifications it portended for regional peace and security.

Regrettably, I am constrained to inform this body, not only that the war in Sierra Leone has persisted, but that the lives of many innocent Sierra Leoneans have continued to be lost. What we are witnessing today is the internal displacement of more than 400,000 Sierra Leoneans and more than 250,000 others who have had to seek refugee status in neighbouring countries, not to mention the devastation caused to the national economy.

Thus, with our territory devastated and our economy nearly destroyed, it is understandable that my country is so anxious that peace should return to Liberia. Without peace, Sierra Leoneans cannot embark on the economic reconstruction of their country. Sierra Leoneans are also hopeful that if peace should return, we can start picking up the pieces of what is left of our country and get on with our lives, and that the massive diversion of our resources to prosecute a rebel war will no longer be necessary. It is also our hope that with the conflict behind us, the Government of the National Provisional Ruling Council

will be able to give its undivided attention to the essential task of nation-building. We therefore renew our appeal, from this rostrum, for timely humanitarian assistance for the hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens who have been displaced and made refugees, for it is only with such help that they can start their lives anew.

The socio-economic assistance of this Organization will also be necessary for our post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts. Our *cri du coeur* is for the international community to provide the requisite support and assistance for a country desperately in need, through no fault of its own; a country that has acted as its brother's keeper, in the true meaning of that expression, and on behalf of the international community to bring an end to bloodshed and help restore law and order in Liberia.

It is, therefore, our hope that the latest Cotonou Agreement on that conflict will continue to pave the path to peace in Liberia. It was my Government's expectation that by now, with the assistance of the Security Council, there would have been a rapid establishment and deployment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and also meaningful support for the Trust Fund established by the Secretary-General for the continued engagement of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) in Liberia.

Part of that peace plan calls for the establishment of a buffer zone along our borders to prevent the infiltration into our territory of men and *matériel* from Liberia. In the name of regional peace and security, we call on this Organization to give its full support to our request. International help for ECOMOG is particularly necessary when one considers that for the past two years, West African countries have been shouldering the burden of maintaining peace in Liberia without much outside help, in spite of the enormous problems facing them individually and collectively. In a region which contains 10 of the least developed and poorest nations, it is obvious that sooner, rather than later, the West African subregion will not be able to continue with the ECOMOG burden without such outside help.

I would like to issue a note of warning here: the Cotonou Agreement, in our view, offers the last chance to bring peace to Liberia. If it should fail, we fear that that country might become another Somalia. Hence, the support of the United Nations remains indispensable. We therefore hope that Member States will contribute, and contribute generously, to the Trust Fund. Doing so would save lives.

Before continuing with my line of thought, on behalf of the Sierra Leone delegation and on my own behalf, I should like to convey warm greetings to Ambassador Insanally on his unanimous election to preside over our deliberations during the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

It is also fitting that I express my delegation's sincere appreciation to His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev, his predecessor, for the able manner in which he executed his task and for his personal exertions in the advancement of the noble objectives of our Organization.

Our distinguished Secretary-General has, stoically and with dedication and determination, continued his yeoman's service on behalf of us all. We congratulate him warmly on his latest report.

I should also like to extend the best wishes of the Government and the people of Sierra Leone to the friendly Governments and peoples of those countries that have joined us in this Assembly as full Member States. We have no doubt that their admission has not only enhanced the goal of universality; with their new energies they will effectively contribute to our quest for a more peaceful world.

We believe that our Organization is at a crossroad, that what we say and commit ourselves to during this session will have serious implications on the shape of things to come, and that the rebirth of this Organization will require learning from the lessons of the recent past and adjusting our vision for the future.

Sierra Leone had sincerely hoped that the end of the cold war era would usher in a golden millennium of peace and prosperity for all. Unfortunately, however, we have witnessed a series of situations all over the world that have given rise to a more violent and insecure international environment. We are faced with conflicts and misery that have adversely influenced the lives of vast sectors of humanity, and we now feel an even deeper sense of helplessness and despair that makes us almost nostalgic for the order and logic of bygone days. But nostalgia has no purpose if it serves only to pander to escapism, without using the lessons of the past to guide our future courses of action.

Let me now turn to an issue that continues to deeply concern us all, namely, peace-keeping. The principle and efficiency of peace-keeping are not in question, but already expenditures for peace-keeping have several times over outstripped the Organization's regular budget. More troubling is the prospect that such expenditures will soon exceed resources committed to development since the establishment of the United Nations. We sincerely believe that the time has come when more attention should be given to conflict prevention and resolution.It would serve our purpose much better and cost this Organization much less if conflicts were contained and resolved before reaching the point of open hostilities, when situations are more difficult to control. We can catalogue a series of lost opportunities of which one glaring example is the Liberian conflict. Let us, from this point forward, give more attention to the prevention of conflict rather than having to field troops in various theatres of war at exorbitant cost. Recent events have proved that we cannot afford to risk the lives of our men in the field in situations that could have been prevented. Let me reiterate Sierra Leone's firm conviction and commitment to the peace-keeping operations that are now taking place throughout the world. We deplore the acts of those who have made peace-keepers objects of their violence, and we salute the gallant men and women who are acting on behalf of us all.

However, our perseverance in the pursuit of global peace and in peace-keeping will not reap the desired harvest if the present proliferation of arms and ammunition to theatres of conflict continues. As we all are aware, many third world countries where military conflicts are raging today do not manufacture arms. On the other hand, they continue to be the recipients of some of the deadliest weapons. Such weapons, when supplied to the contending factions, be they rebels or others, have as their main victims innocent civilians. Today, we are witnessing carnage and loss of human life, as a result of the use of weapons acquired by various rebel movements in Africa from arms manufacturers over the years.

It therefore becomes obvious that, if we are to put a stop to such blood-letting and human carnage, further stringent measures must be imposed on the sale and proliferation of arms and ammunition. In our view, into this category falls the proliferation and ever-increasing use of mines and other explosive devices in the third world which have taken a heavy toll in human life, especially innocent civilians. Many civilians continue to die because of the indiscriminate manner in which these mines have been planted and used by rebel forces ever since they were acquired from unknown sources. We therefore welcome the initiative taken by the European Community to inscribe an item on the agenda of this session of the Assembly to address such issues. We believe that the support of the international community is indispensable to dealing with the disastrous consequences of the presence of such mines.

While still on the issue of conflicts, we wish to reiterate our support for the recently concluded International Conference for the Protection of War Victims and its recommendations. We are firmly convinced that humanitarian law must be made completely universal, widely known and fully respected, and must be extended to fully cover non-international conflicts.

My delegation continues to watch with interest the political developments gaining momentum in South Africa. Yet, much as the ongoing negotiations offer hope for a resolution of this problem, we are deeply saddened that the continuing violence, directed especially against innocent people - the majority of whom are blacks - goes on undiminished. Violence, in whatever form, is an abhorrence, but its pursuit by unscrupulous groups and individuals to reap political capital, at a time when patience, courage, commitment and tolerance are required, can only give us all cause for concern.

We therefore wish to appeal to all, regardless of affiliation, to exercise forbearance and to renounce the use of violence. But, more so, we call on all Governments and political leaders to use their influence with their supporters to prevail upon them not to threaten the democratization process and to work constructively for a better South Africa. This appeal goes also to all emerging democracies.

Now that the goal of majority rule is in sight, it is time for blacks, who have for long suffered under the odious system of apartheid, to close their ranks in solid unity so that, together, they may be able to let the new South Africa create an impact on the international scene, for their own benefit and the benefit of all South Africans.

We appeal to black South Africans to forge greater unity and to be conscious of their responsibility to disprove the assertion of the apologists for apartheid that blacks are incapable of ruling themselves. For it is only when they act in unison and stop the violence that they will be able to enjoy the fruits of their freedom struggle, which they have endured for so long and are, at last, about to win.

Sierra Leone has for many years supported a comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict, based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338

(1973). We see the recent mutual recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel as an extremely positive step towards the full restoration of peace in the Middle East.

We also encourage all the parties to the ongoing negotiations concerning other facets of the Middle East problem to demonstrate the same spirit of accommodation in the interests of their own people, who for decades have known nothing but strife, conflict, suffering and hatred, and in the interests of peace and of mankind as a whole.

Sierra Leone supports the territorial integrity of Kuwait.

I would now like to turn to another important matter in this Organization: that is the functioning of the Security Council.

Undoubtedly, just as a growing number of nations continue to encourage greater participation by their citizens in the attainment of the ends of the State, so must this national awareness of the need for political harmony and justice be a paradigm instructive to the Security Council, which, as the primary organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, should be perceived as legitimate in its decision-making process and, thus, should embrace the views of a wider section of the international community.

It is necessary at this juncture to express our concerns -concerns that are shared by many small States Members of this Organization - regarding the willingness of the international community, but more so its major players, to ensure respect for the principles enshrined in our Charter. It is clear that the time has come to articulate the normative values that are to be pursued in guaranteeing the security of those who are not in a position to undertake their own defence and to reassure them that their reliance on the United Nations as the guarantor of their sovereignty against violations by stronger nations has not been misplaced.

The failure to halt aggression in some recent cases has seriously undermined the foundations of the common security arrangement that the end of the cold-war presaged. The repeated indecision with which aggression in different parts of the world has been confronted has set a dangerous precedent by undermining the confidence of small nations in the Organization's protective capacity and by encouraging automatic resort to self-defence, with a concomitant increase in arms build-up. It also goes some way to assuaging the residual fears that perpetrators of massive violations of human rights, even genocide, may have had that their despicable actions will somehow be met with purpose and resolve by the international community.

In the coming days, there must be a firm, unequivocal, timely and balanced response from the international community to threats to and breaches of international peace and security if the Bosnian experience is not to become a feature of relations between States. It is undesirable to allow the view to prevail that the international community is more disposed to act forcefully in certain instances than in others. It is in this vein that we must express our concern over the apparent deterioration of the security situation in Somalia. We express the belief that, despite the provocation, a distinction must continue to be made between the Somali people, the warlords and gunmen. We firmly reject those who want to impose tyranny on the Somali people, and we express our heartfelt condolences to the families of those gallant peace-keepers who have fallen while on duty in Somalia.

The World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in June this year was a landmark event which was able to overcome the numerous challenges that it faced. That Conference addressed, *inter alia*, such fundamental human rights as the rights of women and children and reaffirmed the universality of human rights and the legitimate role of the international community in protecting these rights worldwide. It also reaffirmed the importance of economic, social and cultural rights and the right to development, and it adopted several practical steps to promote and protect human rights in both private and public life. The challenge now facing us is to implement the recommendations of that Conference.

We would not like to reopen the debate regarding human rights standards. The United Nations established those standards more than 40 years ago. What is important is that human rights should remain universal and non-selective. Human beings all over the world, irrespective of their race, religion, gender or class, must enjoy equal rights and protection.

We see the re-emergence of racism and ethnic conflict at its genocidal worst today in various parts of the world. The United Nations must assume a much stronger role in trying to prevent and minimize the suffering caused to people who are subjected to the pain and intimidation of this dark display of man's inhumanity to man. Regrettably, in many lands today, on every continent and among peoples of every race, colour, language and

religion, conflicts erupt in unspeakable violence. As has been observed, ethnic tensions have become the racial fault line in widely diverse societies all over the globe - the advanced, the developing, the relatively stable and the unstable alike. We must redouble our efforts and guard against such dangers.

Sierra Leone continues to be concerned by the problem of refugees and displaced persons, particularly as we ourselves have become victims of such a phenomenon. Apart from the effort to prevent and avert the flow of refugees, if our people are to be able to return to their communities, remain there and rebuild their lives they must have what the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees calls "emergency development funds" to meet their basic needs in the areas of health care, education and employment. While acknowledging the generosity that the international community has shown in the past in respect of refugees worldwide, we appeal to that community in general, and to the major donors in particular, not to give in to "aid fatigue" but to meet the urgent and felt needs of their brethren and sisters, many of whom have found themselves refugees overnight through no fault of their own.

Sierra Leone therefore urges the international community to look at these ever-present challenges: how to assist uprooted people, particularly in the context of conflict and grinding poverty; how to enable the displaced to return home in safety and dignity and rebuild their lives; and how to prevent and solve refugee problems.

However, while providing help and assistance to mitigate the refugee problem, we remain convinced that unless and until the international community can overcome the scourge of poverty, that problem will remain insoluble and be constantly with us. It is therefore our fervent hope that, even at this late hour, renewed impetus will once again be found to prevent and eradicate this condition of human misery.

The necessity of guaranteeing the foundation of a common security evidently goes beyond the reduction or elimination of military conflicts and embraces human security as a whole. Indeed, the fortunes of many a society will hinge on this, as in many developing countries the root cause of political and social upheaval or military conflict remains grinding poverty. Without the eradication of this scourge, the prospect for human development will remain bleak. Regrettably, for many of our countries in Africa, especially the least developed among us, two years after the adoption of the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s our experience has been one of disappointment and frustration. Even though most African countries have carried out the structural adjustment programmes and put in place democratic structures, the development partnership promised by the New Agenda has not been forthcoming. With few exceptions, the resources necessary to get the New Agenda implemented have not been made available.

Today poverty and underdevelopment continue to plague countries like mine in sub-Saharan Africa despite the commendable efforts of this Organization to solve some of these palpable problems. It is a matter of regret that the new world order seems to have relegated the economic and developmental needs and problems of Africa to the lower rungs on its list of priorities. The New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s is failing because of a lack of funding and support from the international community. The implementation of this New Agenda requires the full participation of the international community, especially donor Governments and organizations and programmes of the United Nations system. It is therefore of the utmost importance and urgency that economic, technical and development assistance be provided to Africa by the international community, which unfortunately has not responded sufficiently to our needs. We therefore call on our partners in development to give us all the support necessary to make the reforms that we have carried out successful and the sacrifices we have made not a mere waste of time.

Our present situation also underscores an urgent need for support for the effective functioning of the proposed African Economic Community, which is designed to enhance economic integration and cooperation in Africa. Financial and technical assistance must be provided to African regional and subregional organizations for them to be able to overcome the socio-economic challenges facing them. We fully accept that responsibility for Africa's development rests with us Africans, but it is obvious that for us to be able to achieve and sustain the goal of development, particularly in the face of all the obstacles against us, including highly unfavourable terms of trade, we must receive much stronger support from the international community. With such support, the vast potential of the continent will be properly utilized so that we do not miss yet again an opportunity to provide a catalyst for Africa's meaningful contribution to the growing global economy from which we all must benefit. It is for this reason that we look forward to the forthcoming Tokyo International Conference on African Development, which should provide yet another

opportunity for committed international support for Africa's development efforts. We also look forward to a balanced and successful outcome of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations and an expansion of world trade, improved commodity pricing, greater market access and non-restrictive trade practices that will work for the benefit of all countries, especially those in the process of development.

The trauma that many African societies are experiencing daily in the fight against poverty, malnutrition and disease must not be allowed to become a way of life. The improvement of our people's lot is as much to be realized through aid flows as it is to be guaranteed by long-term measures aimed at addressing the heavy debt burden, discriminatory trade practices and depressed commodity prices from which so many of us suffer. We in Africa would dearly love to be able to lift ourselves by our own bootstraps but we cannot do so when our bootstraps are firmly in the hands of others.

We face a most painful dilemma, wherein we find ourselves in a position from which we presently seem unable to influence the forces that shape our destinies. But the problems we encounter as developing countries should not deter us from forging ahead to find new ways to development and prosperity. The experience gained by such countries as Singapore, the Republic of Korea, Thailand and other South-East Asian countries clearly shows that success can be gained in the long run where there is sacrifice, determination and hard work.

This notwithstanding, Africa's underdevelopment remains unique, and unless the international community applies creative and effective comprehensive measures, such as debt-for-development swaps and other debt relief measures, the solution to Africa's economic crisis, particularly for countries in the least developed category, will continue to be illusory. In a world where the gap between the rich and the poor countries is growing wider every day, the need for economic and technical cooperation between developing countries cannot be overstated.

With regard to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), we welcome the establishment of the Commission on Sustainable Development as a functional Commission of the Economic and Social Council. What now remains to be put in place is the practical implementation of the Commission's mandate to ensure the effective follow-up of UNCED. Sierra Leone welcomes the decision to convene a Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States in April 1994.

At the recent United Nations Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks, the plight of many coastal States, including mine, was highlighted regarding the lack of an effective monitoring, control and surveillance system that can be maintained on a sustained basis in the face of the continuing indiscriminate advance of certain distant-water fishing nations, some of which not only fish the straddling stocks outside the jurisdiction area, but enter and violate the territorial rights of our countries. Even the fleets of those nations which obtain relevant licenses to fish do not declare the correct catches for reliable data records. Consequently, the true state of exploitation of the stocks within the national jurisdiction of most of our countries is not accurately known, and so Sierra Leone, despite its location in one of the most fertile areas in terms of marine living resources, realizes only a miniscule amount from these resources as a result of the activities of the distant-water fleets.

This present state of affairs is certainly untenable and should not remain unchecked. The exploitation of our meagre resources by larger nations and bodies taking advantage of our technological weaknesses can only worsen our economic situation. These wanton fishing practices also threaten to deplete the fishing grounds of our nations and to become great environmental hazards. I therefore wish to reiterate the support expressed by the Sierra Leone delegation for the conclusions of that Conference, which we hope will bring about a radical change in the present exploitation of our marine resources. I hope our experts will soon be able to sit down with experts of the United Nations to work out modalities that will ensure the equitable and judicious exploitation of our marine resources.

Looking back at the progress accomplished by mankind over the past few decades of its quest for peace, security and social progress, we have to admit that the results achieved have been mixed.

A few years ago, for example, the world watched with hope and expectation as nations and societies were infused with a new energy which held out the promise of a new, dynamic era in which our societies would at last realize the potential for peace and the global environment would be transformed for the better. Then, many of us were convinced that, if history had taught us anything, it had impressed on us that this journey's success could not

endure unless we divested ourselves of the old flawed and discredited formulae in which the age behind us had been embedded. It was our hope that, phoenix-like, we would rise from the ashes of unfulfilled dreams and start on a journey towards the fulfilment of our aspirations to a golden age.

Today, some way into that journey, we have begun to wonder whether that dream was not a mirage, whether the new reality on which so much depends will be shaped with the good will and cooperation of all nations, big and small alike.

In the past, many of us called for the emerging order to be nurtured and shaped by the joint will of the international community as a whole, mindful as we were of the need to anchor this new direction on principles we all believed in and subscribed to. We are still of that view. Yet, though the recent months have witnessed a process of revitalization in the Organization's responsibilities for crisis management and its larger engagement with the maintenance of international peace and security, we are increasingly concerned about emerging trends that may not augur well for the global political and socio-economic transformation we all anticipate.

The assurance of international security cannot succeed for long unless we are able, as an Organization, to forge international consensus among all Members on measures that are of primary importance to us all. New energy should impel us to find the source of today's problems, so as to mitigate the disastrous conditions under which a large segment of mankind continues to live. New impetus should be given to breaking the constraints that for so long kept us from gaining access to those in need and finding solutions to their problems.

It is our fervent hope that all of us, with new vision and commitment, will accomplish these goals so that we may attain the new world order that was conceived within the parameters of the ideals of this Organization.

Mr. CARIAS ZAPATA (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I take great pleasure in expressing to the President of the General Assembly the sincerest congratulations of the people and the Government of Honduras on his well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

In entrusting this very delicate role to him, the international community is recognizing his personal merits and those of our sister nation of Guyana. We are convinced that with his experience and proven capacity he will conduct the work of this Assembly with great success.

My delegation also extends a warm welcome to the new Members of our Organization: the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Eritrea, Andorra and the Principality of Monaco. We do so fully convinced that within the framework of the United Nations we will establish and strengthen strong bonds of friendship and cooperation with them, and that their participation will contribute effectively to the full realization of the principles and purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Pursuant to those same principles, the Republic of Honduras calls, as it did at the previous session of the General Assembly, for greater support and resources to be accorded to the universal organs for the legal settlement of disputes, such as the International Court of Justice, whose rulings contribute to the peaceful settlement of disputes brought before it. We are pleased to state that a year ago Honduras and El Salvador were handed down a ruling by the International Court of Justice on their border dispute; we are now complying with that ruling and the border populations are living in complete harmony.

On the question of disarmament, in taking note of the vital discussion of the destructive power of nuclear weapons, we urge the nuclear-weapon States to arrive at sound, verifiable agreements on the reduction and destruction of such weapons and their means of delivery, taking into account the great danger the use of these and other weapons of mass destruction represents for humanity, and ensuring that the growing financial resources released from the arms race are transferred to the needs arising from international cooperation for development.

It is only natural that, in activities in the field of general disarmament, priority should have been given to nuclear disarmament, but this must not impede renewed efforts in the field of conventional disarmament, particularly on a regional basis.

Honduras has observed with great concern the tragic situation still prevailing in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the escalation of hostilities, massive violations of human rights and attempts to enshrine in legal instruments territorial conquests obtained by aggression.

My country therefore unreservedly supports the Security Council's efforts to protect the displace

populations, to provide them with food, medicine and protection, and to obtain a cease-fire and a solution to the various problems that stand in the way of restoring peace to the region.

In Somalia, there is no national government to ensure that the United Nations intervention in that country will not only mitigate the hunger which unfortunately afflicts its inhabitants but also make it possible, with the full participation of the Somalis, to follow the path to peace, coexistence and the restoration of normalcy.

That path of hope has already been taken with great determination in South Africa, and the international community is rejoicing at the end of the last vestiges of apartheid and the beginning of national reconciliation and reconstruction.

It was with rekindled hope that the entire world learned of the outcome of the negotiations which, under the inspired mediation of the Government of Norway, led to the recently signed historic agreement on mutual recognition between the State of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. This is one more step towards the normalization of good-neighbourly relations in the Middle East with respect to the right to self-determination of peoples.

The Honduran Government, which has followed with interest and concern the fierce struggle that for decades has pitted Israelis and Arabs against each other, welcomes this positive development and hopes it will be accompanied by peace agreements between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

Similarly, our country has followed with great attention the course of events in Haiti, where we have welcomed the agreement reached between President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the head of the country's armed forces, through the mediation of Mr. Dante Caputo, the Special Envoy of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS).

The text of this agreement, in addition to contemplating a series of basic provisions for the solution of the crisis, calls for the return of Haiti's legitimate President, and for compliance with all commitments undertaken both in the United Nations and in the OAS. Our country expresses its resolute support for all measures that may be taken to comply with the timetable established in the Governors Island Agreement, which led to the parliamentary ratification of Prime Minister Robert Malval, which in turn has made it possible to suspend the embargo on Haiti.

In Central America, the Tegucigalpa Protocol of 13 December 1991 has entered into force. It adapts the legal framework of the former Organization of Central American States to the new realities of the region by establishing a system of Central American Integration which, acting under the impetus of the regional summits, is strengthening and fostering a new system of economic, social, cultural and political integration for the benefit of all Central Americans.

In accordance with this basic objective, my country aspires, with increasing determination and political will, to see our region established as a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development which is more actively involved in the new reordering of the international community.

However, in spite of the progress in the regional peace process, many of the root causes of the Central American crisis persist, and the advances that have been made are only a starting-point in confronting the underlying causes of the armed conflict which threaten to destroy all that has been accomplished.

Peace and development will be securely established only if a broad and participatory commitment is achieved, involving both the Governments and the organized sectors of civilian society of each of our nations.

It is a fact that the difficulties of any one Central American country have an effect on all other countries of the region. Concerted action within a regional framework is therefore necessary, to allow internal processes to be strengthened while fully respecting the particular circumstances of each country.

The Government of Honduras therefore appeals to our fellow Central Americans to meet in the near future in order to give a new thrust to coordination of the efforts which benefit from international support and to make it possible for us to view with hope the economic integration now under way.

The challenge of establishing peace in Central America requires that we give priority to the geographical areas most affected by poverty. This in turn requires us to promote greater social participation by deepening the process of decentralization through a concept of human development at the local level and expressing that social

development in realistic macroeconomic policies which encourage both domestic and foreign investment.

In Honduras this year we will be holding our fifth consecutive general election since the restoration of democracy in 1980, and it is our policy to give firm support to the economic integration of the Central American isthmus in order to consolidate the results of growth with greater social well-being.

A revitalized Central America with sustainable economic growth, while respecting the natural environment and continually acting to rapidly improve the quality of life of its inhabitants, is the best guarantee of permanent security for the region bathed by the Caribbean Sea, within which Central America, in harmony with the principles of the member countries of the "Community of the Caribbean", can consolidate an era of peace and cooperation by the end of this century.

The third Ibero-American summit, held at San Salvador de Bahia, Brazil, examined with concern the subject of development, with emphasis on social development. In so doing, it reaffirmed in that community of nations the commitment to representative democracy, the promotion of the observance and defence of human rights, and the promotion of the economic and social development of our peoples, which are united by language, tradition and by a shared future.

To follow up on what was decided in this new forum for cooperation, we Ibero-Americans must strengthen our commitment to the successful convening of the World Summit for Social Development, an initiative of the Chilean Government supported enthusiastically by Honduras, and which we hope will be given a final impetus by this General Assembly.

There can be no doubt that all of these attempts to achieve prosperity for our nations must inevitably involve a willingness on the part of the industrialized States to include us in trying to establish an open, multilateral trade system that gives our products greater access to competitive markets so that more and more countries can reach satisfactory levels of growth and trade.

Unfortunately, the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations has not yet been concluded, and this is a source of grave concern to the less developed States whose expectations are affected along with the programmes of structural adjustment they are carrying out with great sacrifice, as an effective contribution to a better ordering of the world economy. Protectionist measures imposed by certain States on exports from our region not only cause a decline in the prices of those products but also impede access to international markets, thus helping to plunge our economies into a climate of uncertainty by restricting the possibilities of investment and continued growth.

The need to achieve greater global economic stability without regard to the economic and political might of any individual nation should be examined along with the growing convergence of opinions concerning global priorities with regard to the environment; this was demonstrated in a clear and positive way at the Earth Summit held at Rio de Janeiro last year.

The deterioration of nature must be avoided. Together we can design preservation strategies that also make it possible to make rational use of our natural resources in order to meet our countries' requirements for employment needs and economic growth. In Honduras, we have established a Ministry of the Environment charged with designing policies and strategies aimed at creating mechanisms to protect and preserve our ecosystem and its endangered species of flora and fauna.

Lastly, as regards the restructuring of the United Nations, Honduras supports the proposal that the Security Council be expanded to include new permanent and non-permanent members so as to reflect the realities of today's world, allowing for the rotation of membership and an equitable geographical distribution in the composition of the Council.

We are also in favour of the revitalization of the United Nations in the economic, social, cultural and related spheres. It is essential that the necessary measures be adopted as soon as possible to strengthen the capacity of those organs concerned in order to discharge the functions conferred upon them by the Charter of the United Nations in the sphere of international cooperation.

We welcome the steps that have already been taken to achieve the objectives we have set, but we believe that we need to arrive at a more effective and more economical United Nations system, one which is at the same time less passive in executing the programmes adopted here.

The emergence of new conflicts and the persistence of old ones in different parts of the world reconfirm, if such a thing is necessary, the proven wisdom of trying to achieve, as we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, an integral structure of harmonization and

peaceful cooperation for the international community. Let us pledge to achieve this with our votes and our actions.

Mr. DE MOURA (Angola) *(spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation)*: First of all, Sir, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Angola and on my own behalf, I congratulate Ambassador Insanally warmly on his unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. I am convinced that his proven experience and dedication to the noble ideals of our Organization constitute a secure guarantee of the success of this session.

To Mr. Stoyan Ganev, his predecessor, I should like to express my sincere gratitude for his exemplary and unselfish manner of directing the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly. The results we obtained during that session are undeniable testimony to his valiant contribution in the search for just and lasting solutions to the grave problems with which we are confronted.

We are very pleased to welcome the new Members of our Organization. Their admission confirms the universal vocation of the United Nations at a time when its actions are felt all over the world.

To the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, I also want to express my Government's satisfaction at the devotion and energy he has shown during the first year of his difficult mandate, whose principal objective was the constant search for adequate solutions to the problems that afflict all mankind. We would not be wrong to say that under his leadership concrete and decisive steps have already been taken towards the resolution of certain issues that seemed too difficult to resolve.

In this context we salute his efforts, within the framework of the restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations system, to give the system a new vitality in the fulfilment of its mission. We also support the mechanisms established for the prevention of conflict, as explained in the report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", whose sub-title includes the words "Preventive diplomacy". My Government continues to support such initiatives and commends the United Nations for the General Assembly's unanimous adoption of resolution 47/120 B at its forty-seventh session on 20 September 1993.

Therefore, the restructuring and revitalization of our Organization should include reform of the Security Council so that it can respond to the realities of today's world. We understand that restructuring the Security Council - specifically its enlargement - so that it can permit equitable representation of all the regions of the globe is aimed at guaranteeing greater representativeness, credibility and efficiency. We think that the time has come for the defence of peace and international security to be the responsibility of all States.

Significant and far-reaching achievements have occurred and are still occurring in international relations, after the end of the East-West confrontation and the cold war. These events are taking place in spite of the proliferation of armed conflicts that put at risk the hope for peace and stability, conditions that are indispensable for the promotion of mutually advantageous international cooperation.

With the signing of the peace accords in Washington between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Government of Israel, a new era has opened up for the peace process in the Middle East. My Government commends the signing of these accords and hopes that the international community will continue to work for the rights of all the people of that region, in particular so that the opportunity for the Palestinian people to live in peace and freedom will be an irreversible reality.

Regarding South Africa, it was with great satisfaction that we heard, in the speech by Mr. Nelson Mandela in this Hall on 24 September 1993, the announcement of the organization of free and democratic elections in April 1994 and the call for the lifting of the sanctions. We also commend the creation of the Transitional Executive Council, which will put an end to three centuries of white minority domination. From this rostrum, my Government would like to add its voice in support of all the initiatives that aim for a peaceful and negotiated solution in South Africa for the peaceful transition of power to the black majority.

In this context, my Government hopes that the international community will remain vigilant in order to deter any attempt by extremist groups to derail the present democratic process, which will culminate in the establishment of the right to one man, one vote, in South Africa.

While there has been encouraging progress with regard to the conflicts in the Middle East and apartheid, it is unfortunate that the same is not true in relation to other conflicts, such as those in East Timor, the former Yugoslavia, some States of the former Soviet Union, Somalia, Liberia and my own country. As a matter of fact,

these conflicts and civil wars continue daily to kill thousands of human beings and to impede the social and economic development of the countries involved. We should like the international community, and the United Nations in particular, to give more attention to the resolution of these conflicts, on the basis of international justice and legality.

I should like to express our solidarity with, and encouragement to, the Government of Mozambique and our Mozambican brothers and sisters, so that they may, with determination and patience, continue on the paths that will lead that country to a lasting and peaceful solution within the framework of the accords signed in Rome, whose implementation should be scrupulously observed by all interested parties, under the supervision of the United Nations.

We welcome the positive signs which resulted from the recent meeting regarding East Timor between the Ministers of Foreign Trade of Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

We hope that this profitable dialogue will lead to a just solution that takes into account the aspirations of the Maubere people in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

With regard to Western Sahara, my Government supports the holding of the referendum on self-determination for this Territory under the terms of the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and of the United Nations. My Government also hopes that the existing obstacles will be overcome as soon as possible.

There have lately been startling changes in the world economic situation. This applies especially to third world countries, particularly in Africa. In this regard, while we witness almost linear economic growth in the developed countries, a substantial decrease has been recorded in the less developed countries.

The indebtedness and the debt servicing of the less developed countries, together with the great decrease in the prices of raw materials and the recession in the industrialized countries, constitute the principal obstacle to their development and to their full participation in the world economy.

In summary, it may be said that the socio-economic situation of the developing countries - in particular, the countries of Africa - is alarming and requires the assistance of international financial institutions.

Nevertheless, we are opposed to the doctrine that has been termed the *états en échec* - the failed States - according to which these countries are not able to resolve their problems by themselves and, therefore, need new "tutors".

It seems to us important that certain political situations that are a legacy of the past be revised with a view to reaching agreement and reducing the great barriers that exist and the mechanisms that jeopardize real cooperation for the economic, technical and scientific advancement of the developing countries. In this context, we propose a restructuring of the mechanism of international management for economic development and cooperation.

My Government shares the opinion that a successful outcome to the forthcoming world conferences on economic and social development and on population is of great importance to the international community so that there may be, at the highest level, an open and frank dialogue with a view to finding the most equitable solutions to the most diverse and burning issues concerning mankind: poverty, hunger and malnutrition - in a word, "underdevelopment" - that grip a great part of our planet.

I should like to refer also to the importance that my Government attaches to environmental issues and the attention that it pays to implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the Rio Conference of 1992. In this context, the Government of Angola has established the post of Secretary of State for the Environment, whose purpose is to apply the recommendations and decisions of the Rio Conference. In addition, an inter-ministerial commission, with an essentially consultative role, has been set up to study and follow closely projects related to the activities of the United Nations Economic and Social Council's Commission on Sustainable Development.

The promotion of and universal respect for human rights remain the prerequisites for the strengthening of international peace and security.

The Republic of Angola actively participated in the World Conference on Human Rights, which was held in Vienna, and supported the consensus view. Nevertheless, Angola continues to believe that, in the broad sense, human rights are universal. We believe that there must be

no selectivity in the observance of human rights. Nowhere should human rights serve as a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States Members of the United Nations.

The world and the United Nations have witnessed the evolution of the political situation in my country in recent years - in particular, since 1988. To make possible a better understanding of the phenomena that have contributed to the dramatic situation in Angola, allow me to provide a brief historical overview.

The Angolan Government is ever-conscious of the intrinsic link between peace and socio-economic development, not just for Angola but for all of southern Africa. My Government took the initiative of presenting a peace programme to the then Secretary-General of the United Nations. This programme contained the principles that culminated in the signing of the Accords in New York in December 1988. We recall that these accords provided for the withdrawal of Cuban soldiers from Angola and their return to Cuba, as well as for the withdrawal of the apartheid forces from Angolan territory and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning the independence of Namibia. At that time the international community greeted with satisfaction the New York Accords, which opened a new era in the relations between States in that region.

With regard to the internal conflict in Angola, the Government was aware of the fact that only domestic peace, achieved through dialogue and political mediation, would make possible the creation of a favourable framework for a solution of the conflict. Apart from its own efforts, the Government showed that it was sensitive to African initiatives that sought to contribute to the restoration of peace in Angola.

Thus it was that, in the framework of the Government's internal peace plan, we arrived in Gbadolite in June 1989. Unfortunately, the Accords lasted only a short time because UNITA's friends and allies wanted a different solution. The failure of the Accords was due essentially to bad faith on the part of the head of UNITA.

In spite of this failure, the Angolan Government continued to commit itself to economic and political reforms, as well as to a negotiated solution of the conflict. It continued to promote genuine national reconciliation, whose fundamental purpose was to put an end to the conflict with UNITA.

After New York and Gbadolite, peace negotiations continued - the Portuguese Government mediating - and the Bicesse Accords were signed on 31 May 1991. After a period of 18 months, during which the Angolan people lived in relative peace, the country's first multi-party elections were held on 29 and 30 September 1992.

As the Assembly is aware, the United Nations considered these elections to be to be free and fair.

UNITA was not satisfied with the defeat that the Angolan people had inflicted on it through the ballot-box, and once again showed its Fascist character. It did not hesitate to take up arms again to take power by force. It resumed its previous role as a militarist organization incapable of conforming to democratic rules.

Jonas Savimbi's military option plunged our country into a civil war that has caused incalculable loss of human lives, the destruction of social and economic infrastructure and the displacement of millions of citizens, with such consequences as hunger, poverty, sickness and lack of proper clothing.

As we stated in the Security Council on 15 September 1993, the situation in Angola is exceptionally tragic and requires special attention from the international community.

Daily, thousands of people die as a direct or indirect consequence of the war. Children, elderly people and women are direct victims of these acts of war. We can declare, without fear of contradiction, that the critical economic and political situation in Angola today bears no similarity whatever to the situation in Somalia, Bosnia, Cambodia or any of the republics of the former Soviet Union. It is our profound hope that peace will be restored to those regions.

The international community seems insensitive to our tragedy. It is as if the Angolan people were paying the price for playing the democratic game. Indeed, how are we to understand the curtain of silence that envelops my country? A poor loser will not hesitate to defy the international community with impunity unless it punishes him once and for all. How can one explain that UNITA still maintains offices in certain democratic countries and that some of its officials are still received with great pomp by officials who do not hide their aversion to totalitarianism and are the most ardent defenders of human rights?

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Angola and of its martyred people, who are dying daily by the thousands, I appeal to the United Nations and the international community from this rostrum to help my people and compel the UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, once and for all to abandon his military adventurism and respect the will of the Angolan people, as freely expressed at the ballot boxes in September 1992.

Speaking to the Security Council last week during its consideration of the evolving situation in Angola, we asked ourselves how long that great organ, responsible for international peace and security, would permit the leader of UNITA to perpetrate with impunity heinous massacres that shock the human conscience. These acts discredit and dishonour the United Nations itself and the Security Council, whose resolutions have been purely and simply ignored. We would like to remind this Assembly that since the beginning of the war in Angola in October 1992 the Security Council has adopted 10 resolutions condemning UNITA and demanding that it abandon the military option and resume dialogue aimed at restoring peace.

Yet UNITA has met neither demand. Worse yet, in reaction to Security Council resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, which provides for the imposition of sanctions, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi attempted once again to dupe international public opinion and the Security Council by declaring a false cease-fire and stipulating conditions at variance with the spirit and letter of the Bicesse Accords, the Abidjan Protocol and the electoral results.

The truth, however, is quite different. Not only was the unilateral cease-fire declared by UNITA not respected, but we witnessed an increase in military operations throughout our national territory. As a result, fighting in Kuito and other regions has recently intensified in a desperate UNITA attempt to reoccupy new areas and consolidate its position. Moreover, by making new proposals outside the negotiating framework, Savimbi revealed his obvious intention to ignore the resolutions of the Security Council and seize power for himself at any cost, including the death of hundreds of thousands more Angolans. Savimbi does not want peace without power. Savimbi only wishes to gain time.

Obviously, the Government of Angola cannot accept the policy of *fait accompli* that UNITA wishes to implement by proposing a cease-fire *in situ*. We believe that there is no good will on UNITA's part and that it does not wish to establish dialogue to put a definitive end to the war. This armed party is plotting a dangerous manoeuvre with the aim of shirking its obligation to fulfil the Bicesse Accords and the resolutions of the Security Council.

The United Nations has a great responsibility in the Angolan process and must not be complacent as regards UNITA. It is important that the prestige of this Organization in the peaceful settlement of the conflict not be jeopardized or challenged by the irreverence of the leader of a rebel political organization. The Government of Angola, the United Nations and the troika of observers of the Angolan peace process have all fallen victim in succession to UNITA's bad faith over the past 12 months, a bad faith that has characterized the behaviour of Mr. Savimbi in every meeting held since the Namibe, Addis Ababa and Abidjan meetings.

In Abidjan the Angolan Government bent over backwards to be flexible. In spite of the involvement of the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative and of the leaders of the delegations of the observer States, UNITA did not sign the Protocol of Understanding which was negotiated and agreed upon to lead to the establishment of a complete cease-fire in Angola. We would like to point out that President Houphouët-Boigny and his Minister of Foreign Affairs have done their best in the search for a just solution to the Angolan conflict. These efforts have not been successful, due solely to the obstinacy of Mr. Savimbi, who says "Yes" one day and "No" the next.

We therefore consider that it is crucial that the international community identify the transgressor and move vigorously against him in Angola in an act of justice towards our people and Government, so that our hopes for the establishment of democracy will not be frustrated in the midst of the transitional process currently taking place throughout the world. We want a lasting peace based on viable conditions for reconciling all Angolans.

In that context, my Government proposed, on 22 September 1993, the following conditions to resolve the post-electoral crisis caused by UNITA.

First, UNITA must withdraw its military forces from the areas they occupied illegally following the multi-party elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992, and must then observe the cease-fire under the terms of Security Council 851 (1993) of 15 July 1993.

Secondly, after the declaration of a cease-fire, humanitarian assistance should be implemented and the urgent evacuation of the wounded, sick, interested persons and foreigners accomplished.

Thirdly, UNITA must accept fully and unequivocally the validity of the Bicesse Accords and the results of the election held in September 1992.

Fourthly, UNITA must respect the legislation produced by the instruments of sovereignty established by the elections.

The Angolan Government reiterates its willingness to resume negotiations as soon as the conditions for those negotiations have been established.

In my statement to the Security Council on 15 September 1993 I alerted its members to the crimes committed by UNITA against defenceless civilian populations. These crimes range from the cold-blooded murder of medical personnel and hospital patients, and the hunting down and physical elimination of journalists, family members of Government officials and UNITA dissidents to the bombardment of cities by long-range guns and missiles. I also had the opportunity to discuss the situation prevailing in some regions of Angola, where, as in Kuito, the population has had to eat the flesh of human corpses in order to survive. UNITA has encircled Kuito for more than eight months and does not allow humanitarian assistance to be distributed to the population or allow foreigners to leave the areas in which they found themselves when the war resumed.

In Somalia, one warlord, General Mohammed Aidid, has been labelled an undesirable person by the United Nations. An international arrest warrant was issued for that Somali leader. Several days ago the General Assembly elected a group of international jurists whose mandate is to judge those accused of war crimes allegedly committed in the former Yugoslavia. And what is to be said of Jonas Savimbi?

Are the crimes that are being committed in Angola under Mr. Savimbi's order not worse than those which the United Nations has attributed to General Aidid or the crimes that it intends to judge in the former Yugoslavia? The murder of medical personnel and patients in hospitals: the hunting down and execution of journalists; family members of Government leaders and dissidents from UNITA, Jonas Savimbi's organization; the incineration of political adversaries in huge bonfires; the indiscriminate bombardment of cities with long-range guns and missiles; and UNITA's ties with the forces of apartheid - what does all this mean? Are these not crimes against humanity?

The sanctions that the Security Council decreed and which entered into force on 25 September constitute proof of the commitment of the international community to the Angolan conflict. We hope that these signs will be honoured by Mr. Savimbi and his allies so that dialogue can be resumed as soon as possible, on the basis of the Bicesse Accords, the Abidjan Protocol and on fulfilment of paragraphs 6 and 12 of Security Council resolution 851 (1993).

In conclusion, I should like once again, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Angola, to express our profound gratitude for the wide range of support the international community has provided to alleviate the suffering of our people. We hope this assistance will continue in an even more substantial way. We wish to pay here a special debt of gratitude to the humanitarian organizations and in particular the World Food Programme, which, in spite of UNITA's irresponsible and criminal actions, has continued its operations, risking the lives of its own personnel.

We express also our gratitude to the countries that in diverse ways have given humanitarian assistance to the people, who still are in need of it now.

Once again, I wish the President every success in the work of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly and hope that its results will contribute to the strengthening of international peace and cooperation.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate for this meeting.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): I regret having to make an intervention at this late hour, but I promise you it will not take 10 minutes.

In his statement earlier this evening, the Foreign Minister of Argentina referred to the alleged sovereign rights of his country over the Falkland Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands. I must repeat that the British Government has no doubts about its sovereignty over the British dependencies in the South Atlantic. My Government will continue to work with the Government of Argentina to create an atmosphere of stability and cooperation in the South Atlantic. Considerable progress has been made.

We look forward to resuming negotiations in the near future with the Government of Argentina on a new agreement on fishing. I must, however, add that the progress which has been achieved is predicated on the understanding that sovereignty is not a matter we are prepared to discuss.

Mr. RICARDES (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The Republic of Argentina, having taken note of the comments made by the delegation of the United Kingdom, wishes to reaffirm the comments made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of our country, Mr. Guido di Tella, in his statement this afternoon.

The meeting rose at 9.20 p.m.